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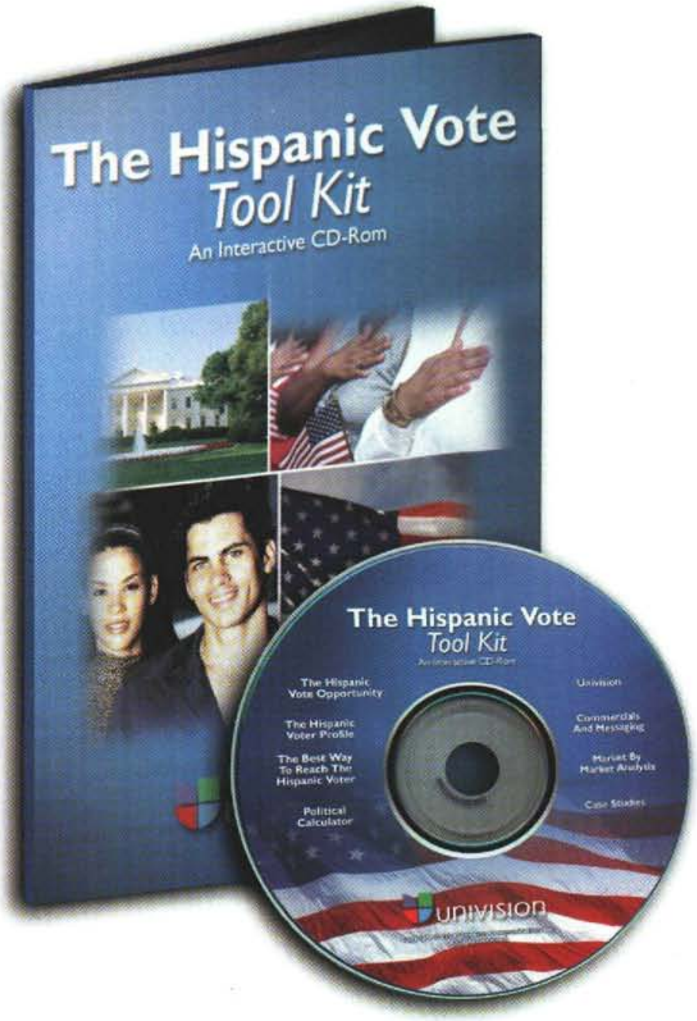

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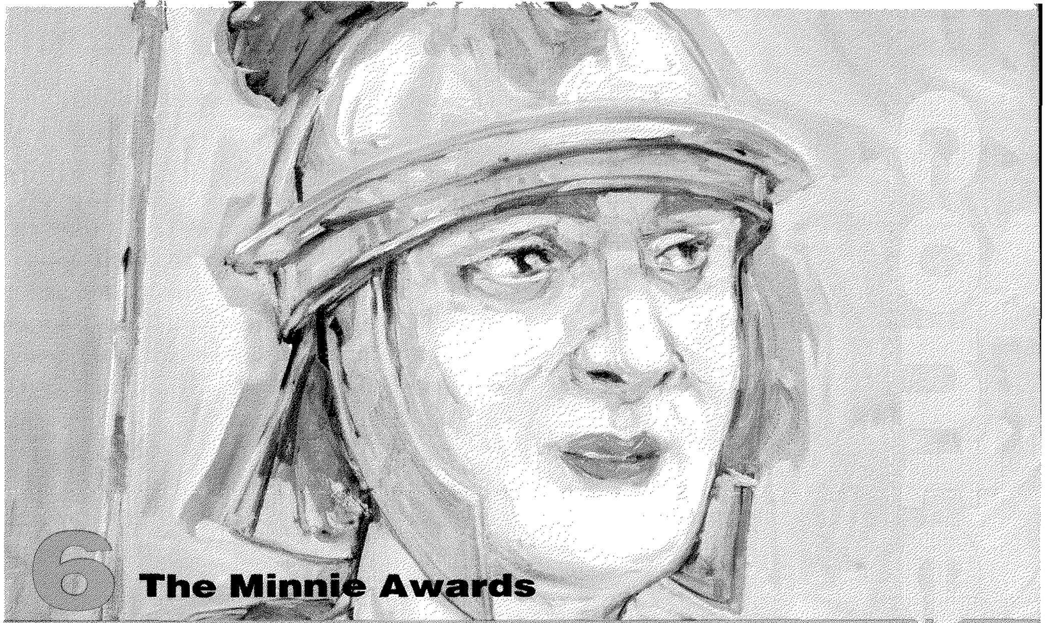

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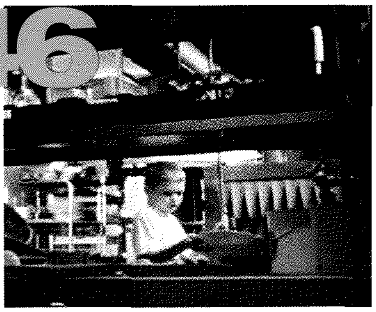


from the editor

The Minnies

By A. G. Block

This month, the *Journal* celebrates the Legislature's best and brightest with our eighth biennial Minnie Awards. But as we pay tribute to our "legislators of the year," it is worth noting that legislative reputations are based on both perception and accomplishment — and those perceptions can change overnight. It happened this year to Sen. Dede Alpert (D-San Diego) when she co-sponsored a bill that Capitol insiders considered beneath the standard she set for herself during an exemplary 14-year career (see page 10). In addition to the Minnies, Senior Editor John Howard explores what it would take — legally — for Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger to follow through with his desire for a part-time Legislature.

Cover illustration of California's Minerva by Sandra Hoover. Ms. Hoover's illustrations are part of the "California's Remarkable Women" exhibit arranged by First Lady Maria Shriver at the California State History Museum.

Getting scooped

It may have been the shortest retirement on record. For Carl Ingram, veteran *Los Angeles Times* reporter, the ink was barely dry on his retirement application when Senate Rules Committee Secretary Greg Schmidt came calling. Even a veteran reporter like Ingram, accustomed to getting his own scoops from inside sources, was startled that the Capitol crowd knew so quickly. "Who were your sources? I haven't even told my bosses yet!" Ingram recalls telling Schmidt. After 25 years as a daily reporter, Ingram's last day at the *Times* was June 29; he started in the Senate exactly one week later.

Carl ingram

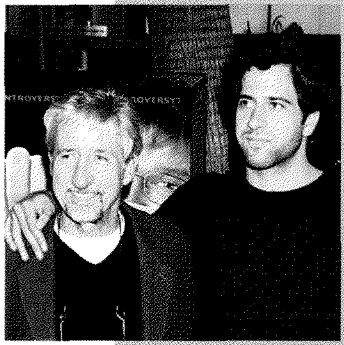
He's still adjusting to his rapid switch of gears. "You're aware of staff people when you're a reporter, but it takes on a whole different look altogether when you're here, in their midst," said Ingram, whose new title is assistant consultant, assigned to the Rules Committee's appointments unit. "I'm really impressed ... They are busting their butts to get the job done right."

Ingram's new boss is state Senate President pro Tem John Burton, who Ingram calls "the Supreme Commander." The two first met in the early 1960s when Ingram was a rookie reporter covering the Capitol for UPI and Burton was a young, ambitious state assemblyman. Ingram recalls that one of Burton's aides, "a young, loud, gregarious" guy, would often rush into the bureau office "at 60 miles an hour, waving these press releases over his head, demanding to see [bureau chief] George Skelton." Only, as Ingram soon discovered, it was actually young Burton himself, loudly delivering his own press releases to reporters in person.

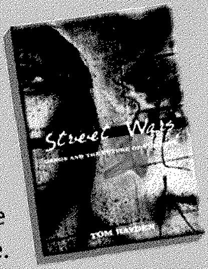
Meanwhile, Ingram has one more retirement in the making — from his post as president of the Capitol Correspondents Assn., since he no longer qualifies for membership. Ingram says it'll enable his second-in-command — *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Greg Lucas — to take the reins. With so many Capitol press corps members having jumped ship over the years into state government — Hallye Jordan, Steve Green, Richard Zeiger, Steve Capps, Rebecca LaVally, to name a few — Ingram may be just the person to form the first "*Former* Capitol Correspondents Association."

Still fighting the fight

As the leftist emblem of the Legislature, former state Senator Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica) often took up causes no one else would touch. But since term limits booted him from office four years ago, Hayden hasn't been making many waves. Instead, he's been reading, writing and recuperating (from heart bypass surgery). He's also taught classes at Harvard University and Occidental College. And he's spoken out in defense of presidential candidate John Kerry's appearances at Vietnam War rallies in the 1970s with Hayden's ex-wife, Jane Fonda. But he's become more visible again in recent months, appearing at bookstores in the Bay Area and Southern California, signing his new book "Street Wars: Gangs and the Future of Violence." The book is a natural for Hayden, who hired three former Los Angeles street gang members as outreach workers in his Senate district office while working on gang-related bills in the Legislature.



Tom Hayden with son, Troy Garity, at the L.A. opening of "Farenheit 9/11"



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Excerpts:

Timber companies harvest homeowners, not just trees

Traditionally, forests are the sylvan satrapy of loggers, hermits, hikers and assorted wildlife. But now they're luring a new species — the homeowner. It's been happening in Washington and Florida, and California isn't far behind as logging companies discover that some wooded parcels are worth more sold outright than logged.

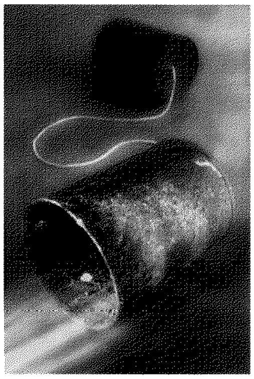
Last year, timber giant Weyerhaeuser in Washington state began marketing a 4,400-acre swath of 'tree-farm' forest in Pierce County, with 21-acre plots fetching an average of $140,000, according to company vice president Peter Constable. The owner can harvest the trees — Weyerhaeuser will even help a new owner with resource management — and property taxes are low. Over in Florida, the St. Jo Company is hawking wooded parcels in three northern counties.

In California, Sierra Pacific Industries, the state's largest private landowner, is selling both residential and commercial property. Near Graeagle in Plumas County, SPI has three lots — 10, 11 and 50 acres — ranging up to $395,000 each. In Red Bluff, the company offers 56 subdivision lots on wooded land, plus another 44 near Redding.

The company noted that the properties have "a higher and better use than growing trees," and so far the public seems to agree: Weyerhaeuser says it is selling about 10 to 15 parcels a month, and SPI has only three left of the original 11 parcels offered at Graeagle.

Communications:

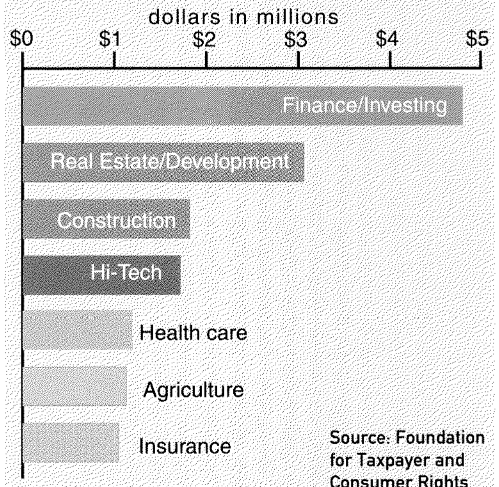
Ringing the right number



With cell phones glued to almost every ear, it seems inconceivable that parts of California are still unconnected. But in some rural counties, reliable telephone coverage doesn't exist, hampering business, hurting tourism and hindering emergency crews. Recently, after six years of begging state officials, Trinity County got the word: it received a $2.5 million Public Utilities Commission grant to install 10 cell phone towers. The news impacts not only the county's 13,300 residents but thousands of tourists, travelers and truckers who pass through on Highway 299. For county supervisor Bob Reiss, "This shows that people shouldn't give up. It's a case where state government actually works."

Governor's Top Donors

Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger vowed to break the stranglehold of special-interest money on Sacramento, but he's taken $15.7 million from special interest donors between August 2003 and June 2004.



Source: Foundation for Taxpayer and Consumer Rights

Quotables.....

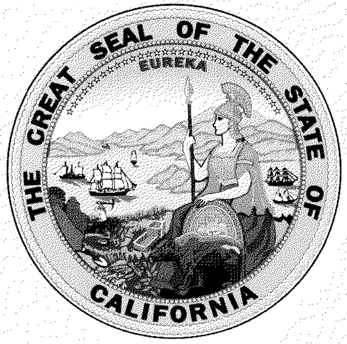
"He's up to his hips in mud while calling all the other politicians pigs."

— Doug Heller, executive director of the Foundation for Taxpayer and Consumer Rights, whose "ArnoldWatch.org" Web site tracks the governor's fund raising.

California Journal's eighth biennial salute to the Legislature's best and brightest

By A.G. Block

THE *Minn*



A little about Minerva

Minerva, goddess of wisdom, graces the state seal and is the inspiration behind *California Journal's* name for its legislative awards, The Minnies. According to mythology, Minerva sprang forth—mature and in complete armour—from the brain of her father, Jupiter. Depicted as a peaceable warrior, she was chosen for the state seal in 1849 as being emblematic of California springing into statehood without going through the normal steps of becoming a U.S. territory.

It has been 14 years since *California Journal* set out to define what constitutes a "good legislator." That effort led to what we call The Minnie Awards — a celebration of the Legislature's "best and brightest."

The Minnie Awards recognize those individuals who best exemplify the traits and skills essential to becoming an effective and respected member of the Legislature.

The concept of the Minnies — of determining the Legislature's stars — has evolved since the *Journal's* first effort in March 1990. A member's job title and power base are important, but not the determining factors. The ability to raise money, to carry a huge bill load and to bring pork to a district are often characteristics of effective legislators, as well, but the Minnies seek more elusive benchmarks.

To be counted among the Legislature's elite, a lawmaker must adhere to a more refined standard — a pattern of conduct, an outlook, a demeanor that exemplifies the best kind of public service. For the current Minnie Awards, we've focused on four traits we believe essential to that standard: integrity, problem-solving, hard-working and quick study. (The latter trait is a combination of intelligence and street smarts that enables a legislator to understand and maneuver inside a term-limited Legislature.)

ie AWARDS

Illustration by Sandra Hoover

The 2004 Minnie Awards are given in eight categories. Four encompass a lawmaker's overall stature: "Legislator of the Year," "Senator of the Year," "Assemblymember of the Year" and "Rookie of the Year." The other four are given for each of the traits mentioned previously. Members are evaluated for their work over the course of the two-year session, which began in December 2002 and will end upon adjournment in August 2004. The awards are the result of 60 detailed interviews with those who work closely with the Legislature and observe its activities on a day-to-day basis — insiders whose careers are based on the Legislature. As in past years, all interviews were conducted on a not-for-attribution basis on the assumption that this provides more candid answers; those interviewed represent Republicans, Democrats, liberals, conservatives and moderates.

Do The Minnies have value?

We believe they do. We believe it is both useful and necessary for citizens to know who among their elected representatives are best qualified.

It is easy to bash government, and it has been especially fashionable of late to disparage the Legislature and those who serve in it. Even Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger — arguably, the state's most recognized and popular politician — alternatively refers to Legislators as "my partners" or as a bunch of kindergarteners and "girlie men." And he has expressed serious thoughts about seeking an initiative to return the Legislature to its pre-1966 status as a part-time body. By implication, the governor and others also disparage the notion of legislative service and dismiss as juvenile the men and women who run for this office.

As The Minnies demonstrate, that attitude does a disservice to many who serve so ably.

Aunt Minnie's legacy

The Minnies are named after Minerva, the goddess of wisdom who graces the state seal and whom the *Journal* adopted long ago as "Aunt Minnie" — California's equivalent of "Uncle Sam." From 1990 to 1996, the awards were based on an extensive survey sent to more than 1,000 Capitol insiders — legislators and their staff, lobbyists, administration officials and members of the media. Each was asked to rank every member of the Legislature from 1 (worst) to 10 (best) in categories the editors felt represented essential traits: integrity, intelligence, effectiveness, energy, flexibility, conviviality and potential. The survey was designed to measure competence in Sacramento and not to assess a particular lawmaker's performance in his or her district — where voters fill out the ultimate survey on Election Day. More than 220 insiders responded to that first survey, providing a broad cross section of views. Scores from the surveys were tallied, and the results produced a numerical ranking of every member of the Legislature.

But those early surveys, and the rankings they produced, were subjective judgments masquerading as objective declarations of relative value. In 1998, we dropped the survey in favor of lengthy interviews with lawmakers, staff, lobbyists and media (see *CJ*, April 1998, for a more complete explanation for the change). As a result, the magazine no longer compiles detailed rankings of every member of the Legislature. Instead, we identify those considered at the top of the current categories.

This year, for the first time, we will no longer identify those at the bottom of several categories, notably "integrity." To name legislators considered among the Capitol's worst detracts from the survey's purpose — to note the Legislature's most outstanding members.

The categories themselves have been recast over the years to keep pace with the changing nature of the Legislature. In 1990, the Legislature was a relatively stable community made up of veterans and a sprinkling of newcomers. Insiders had observed most of the members over many years and understood the capabilities and deficiencies of each member. But term limits, imposed on the Legislature in November 1990, changed the dynamic for success in the Legislature. The Minnies have evolved to more accurately reflect the requirements of a more volatile legislative universe.

Two years ago, for instance, we replaced "intelligence" with "quick study." In a world where tenure is finite, members must not only be smart but must quickly be able to understand both issues and the politics that surround those issues. There is no luxury of time to acquire both position and experience, and members must quickly size up a dizzying array of public policy issues and the internal workings of the Legislature itself.

As in years past, the same lawmakers were named over and over again during these interviews, making it seem that only a handful of legislators do most of the work inside the Capitol. Although this is an overstatement, it is worth noting that, for the first time, those interviewed often expressed difficulty in evaluating many members of the Legislature. As several sources indicated, even the most ubiquitous Capitol "insider" will have trouble knowing enough about every member — especially in the Assembly — to give a reasoned and knowledgeable opinion about all legislators. For instance, 61 of the Assembly's 80 members have served four years or less. The 2002 election produced 32 freshmen — 31 in the Assembly and 1 in the Senate. Another 31 members were elected for the first time in 2000 (30 in the Assembly and 1 in the Senate).

"The Legislature is filled with a lot of ghosts," said one interviewee, "people who are there but invisible."

The following pages identify the opposite of the "ghosts" — those who are considered the Legislature's gold standard.

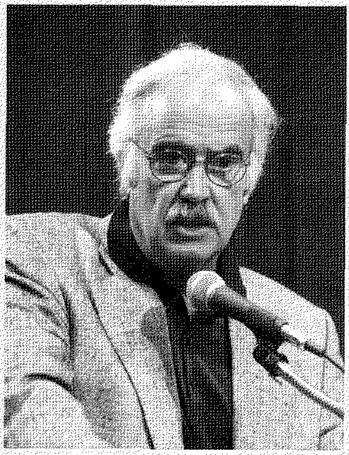
Minnie interviews were conducted by California Journal *editors A.G. Block, Claudia Buck and John Howard. Comments may be sent to* **comments@californiajournal.org**

LEGISLATOR OF THE YEAR

Senator John Burton

(D-San Francisco)

John Burton starts with a handicap. No, not his personality, which can range from abrupt and impatient to ill-tempered and irascible. He is, in a sense, overqualified, by virtue of his stature as Senate president pro tempore. Instead of giving him an advantage, it makes Capitol insiders pause when asked to name a "legislator of the year."



"Burton, of course," said more than one interviewee, "but then he *has* to be involved in every significant piece of legislation, every significant negotiation. He sets a standard simply because of *what* he is. It seems unfair to everyone else."

As majority leader of the Senate, John Burton by default is the most powerful legislator in Sacramento. He also has accumulated 40 years of legislating experience. First elected to the Legislature in 1964, over the years he has served in the Assembly, state Senate and U.S. House of Representatives.

The combination makes him the obvious choice in the minds of many we interviewed, but a choice participants often struggled with. In the end, insider after insider found themselves measuring others against Burton — not only because of his experience and position but because of what he has accomplished with that experience and position.

Two years ago, we described our version of "Legislator of the Year:" "To single out one lawmaker as pre-eminent among the 120 men and women who serve in the Senate and Assembly is to set a standard against which the Legislature itself is measured; in essence to say, 'This, then, is what a legislator ought to be.' Leadership alone is not enough. Intelligence is not enough. Integrity and hard work are not enough. Intangibles, impossible to measure, must also apply: respect for the institution, the strength to take risks and to set aside one's ego and ambition for the greater good, a willingness to help solve the state's most vexing problems, the vision to identify solutions and the drive and skill to see them through to conclusion. Above all, there must be a message in the legislative life of an individual that resonates through the Capitol and beyond, a dedication to public life for the sake of public service."

In 2004, when Burton is measured by that standard, it is impossible to ignore the obvious. Interestingly enough, Burton finished at the top of only one of four Minnie traits (hard-working), and he shared that honor with two Senate colleagues.

Burton won the overall award because he is more than the sum of his parts (see *CJ*, March 2004).

There were other strong candidates who, during interviews, scored well across the board and received repeated mentions as top legislators: Senators Deirdre Alpert (D-Coronado), Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles) and Chuck Poochigian (R-Fresno), and Assembly members Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento) and Kevin McCarthy (R-Bakersfield).

In the end, however, it was Burton.

Burton is termed out in 2004, and the impact of his loss to the Senate and to the Legislature will be substantial.

"He is an institution inside an institution. He has the combination to think strategically and to shape the work of both the Senate and Assembly to his will."

"He holds the institution together. He has wisdom and fearlessness that embody what the Legislature is losing in terms of relationships and institutional knowledge."

"You always want to know where Burton is on a bill. He sees the whole chessboard and plays the game of politics better than anyone."

"Burton knows the members, he knows how to work his house. He knows how to work the other house."

"He is unique. He is a master at using power, an anomaly because he wields power but also tries to get something done. He has accomplished a substantive legislative agenda, starting with SB 2. He has insight and vision and has used his leadership constructively."

"He is the legislative branch of government."

Previous Winners:

1998: Senator Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)
2000: Senators Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), John Burton (D-San Francisco) and Steve Peace (D-El Cajon)
2002: Assemblyman Fred Keeley (D-Boulder Creek)

SENATOR OF THE YEAR

Deirdre Alpert
(D-Coronado)

According to most insiders, there were two Dede Alperts this year. One was the rock-solid state senator regarded by most as a paragon of legislative virtue and accomplishment. The other was the loyal Democratic soldier who co-sponsored a bill (SCA 18) meant to conflict with — and potentially scuttle — a November 2004 ballot initiative, Proposition 62, seen as a threat to the established political order. That initiative creates a new election system by restricting the general-election ballot to the top two vote-getters in a primary, regardless of party affiliation. On the other hand, SCA 18, on the November ballot as Proposition 60, requires that a party must be represented in the general election if it ran candidates in the primary. To make the measure more appealing to voters, the bill also authorizes the sale of surplus state property, with the proceeds used to retire state debt. In a situation where two ballot measures conflict, the one receiving the most votes prevails.

When SCA 18 was introduced on June 17, it was widely criticized as an attempt by the Legislature to undo Proposition 62 by providing an alternative that would either gain more votes or confuse voters enough to defeat both measures. "Sleazy" and "underhanded" were the words most often used to describe the political motives behind SCA 18, and they stuck to Alpert.

Alpert's role in SCA 18 fell in the middle of interviews for The Minnies, and the view of her changed overnight, especially with regard to her integrity. Although those interviewed after June 17 continued to praise Alpert as a legislator, most expressed disappointment that she would lend her considerable reputation to what was seen as an insincere attempt to undermine an initiative. In Alpert's defense, it is not unusual for a legislator to carry water for his or her caucus, nor is it a sin. In this case, Senate Democratic leadership asked Alpert to co-sponsor the bill, but her participation bothered insiders due to the fact that it was untypical in her case and because, over her career, the San Diegan had set such a high bar for herself.

In fact, Alpert's association with SCA 18 cost her one Minnie (Senate Integrity) and may have undone her as "Legislator of the Year." Prior to June 17, the Coronado legislator had received more mentions for the top overall award than had the eventual winner — Senator John Burton (D-San Francisco). After June 17, she was not mentioned at all.

This is especially telling since Alpert was the winner in Integrity in 2000 and 2002.

In evaluating the entirety of Alpert's final legislative session, however, the 58-year-old lawmaker still rises to the top of the Senate. She received a Minnie as the Senate's best problem-solver and shared the award for hardest worker. Disappointment over SCA 18 notwithstanding, most observers credited her with a high sense of integrity, as well.

Alpert was first elected to the Legislature in 1990 from an Assembly seat considered ripe for Republicans. But she repeatedly thwarted GOP ambitions by capturing a series of districts with unfavorable voter registration. Termed out of the Assembly in 1996, she handily won two terms in the Senate, again from a district that favored Republicans. She is termed out of the Senate this year.

"She has mastery of nearly every issue area. She can be tough, but no one quibbles with her posture. They know it comes from the heart."

"Rock-solid in every category. She is committed, decent and solves problems — but she can be very tough."

"Absolute cream of the crop. She has a human approach both to you and to the process. She is genuine and smart enough to know what she doesn't know — and to admit it. She is the only person in the house who can back down [John] Burton on a bill."

The Senate's Elite:
Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), John Burton (D-San Francisco), Joe Dunn (D-Santa Ana), Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles), Chuck Poochigian (R-Fresno), Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto)

ASSEMBLY MEMBER OF THE YEAR

Darrell Steinberg

(D-Sacramento)

No member of either house was praised as often as Darrell Steinberg when it came to identifying those traits that make up the consummate legislator, and he likely would have been the overall "Legislator of the Year" except for one factor — bad timing. Steinberg's quest for "Legislator of the Year" is akin to being nominated for best picture alongside "Lord of the Rings: Return of the King" or "Gone With the Wind." Nearly everyone acknowledged Steinberg as one of the Legislature's best *two* lawmakers. The problem, of course: the *other* member of that exclusive fraternity was Senator John Burton — the Legislature's 800-pound gorilla.

This is not to detract from Steinberg's accomplishments or reputation. Most observers credited him with being in the thick of nearly every tough problem to come before the Legislature over the past two years, including the budget, workers' compensation, local government finance and health care reform — to name but a few. He was cited repeatedly for his problem-solving abilities, quick intelligence, integrity and hard work, as evidenced by the fact that he finished at the top of three of those categories (integrity, problem-solving and hard-working) and a close second in the fourth (quick study). No other member so dominated The Minnies in his or her house.

In addition to his Capitol workload, Steinberg also is involved in a wide range of community activities, including efforts to establish a unity center that promotes tolerance among the state's vast array of ethnic and religious groups. That effort grew from the bombing of several Sacramento-area synagogues in 1999.

The father of two elementary school children, Steinberg has made an effort throughout his career to balance his work load with his personal life — a two-edged sword for lawmakers who hail from Sacramento. Although they are not burdened with travel time to and from the district, legislators who represent the state capital are never really "off the clock." Steinberg, for instance, could often be seen chauffeuring his children to and from their scheduled activities, especially on weekends. But even as he picked them up after a Saturday morning activity, Steinberg would be decked out in a suit and tie while other parents arrived in jeans. He, of course, was on his way to attend a community event or give a speech.

Steinberg, a former member of the Sacramento City Council, was elected in 1998 and is termed out in 2004. He plans to run for the state Senate in 2006, for the seat now held by Democrat Deborah Ortiz. It will mark the second time that Steinberg has followed Ortiz, who held the same Assembly seat from 1996 to 1998 before jumping to the Senate.

"He's at the top in almost every category. Similar to Fred Keeley (2002 Legislator of the Year): someone who brings a lot of intelligence and fair-mindedness. With his strength in fiscal matters, it makes him a player in almost everything. He's not self-aggrandizing, which makes him trustworthy."

"You give him an assignment that he knows nothing about on Friday, and by Monday, he knows it all."

"He has the desire and the ability to be in the middle of things that matter. People want him involved — the budget, workers' comp. He cares about policy and people, and he thinks generationally. He is in this for all the right reasons."

The Assembly Elite:

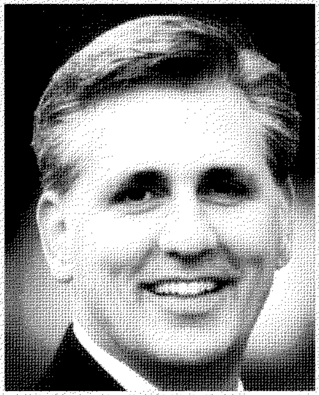
Joe Canciamilla (D-Pittsburg), Jim Dutra (D-Fremont), Rick Keene (R-Chico), John Laird (D-Santa Cruz), Mark Leno (D-San Francisco), Kevin McCarthy (R-Bakersfield), Fabian Nunez (D-Los Angeles), Keith Richman (R-Northridge), Juan Vargas (D-San Diego)

ROOKIE OF THE YEAR

Assemblyman Kevin McCarthy

(R-Bakersfield)

The most difficult job in the Legislature is that of an Assembly rookie. Mastering Sacramento's learning curve is akin to scaling Mount Everest, where the summit is shrouded in a fog of policy and politics and the climb must begin even before one is sworn into office. It must be made with a minimum of missteps, and there are few veterans to help show the way.



Consider the policy basics that must be conquered: education, transportation, local government finance, workers' compensation, tax policy, water use, agriculture, e-commerce, the state budget, urban sprawl, energy, Indian gaming, insurance regulation, prison reform, parole policy, prevailing wage — to name a few.

And then, there are the political dynamics. Who among colleagues may be trusted and who has a hidden agenda? How does one set up an effective fund-raising operation? How does one deal with lobbyists and special-interest groups? Where does one find and hire competent staff? How does one convert an idea into a bill, then marshal support? What are the keys to securing good committees?

Some arrive better prepared than others, and some sprint quickly to the head of the class. In 1998, for instance, rookie Assemblywoman Carole Migden (D-San Francisco) was named to head the Assembly Appropriations Committee in her first week in office.

But Migden was an exception. Until this session.

As one survey participant noted, "This freshman class is remarkable. ...They're bright, hard-working and show some integrity. In an era of term limits, it's encouraging."

Several among the Assembly's current crop of 31 rookies have gone not only to the head of the class but to the top of the house itself: one as speaker, another as Republican Party leader, a third as Rules Committee chair. A fourth is rumored to be heir to the Budget Committee. As a result, a number of first-termers could have become "Rookie of the Year."

As The Minnies interviews began, it was assumed that designating a top rookie would be a slam dunk. After all, Democrat Fabian Nunez of Los Angeles had been elected speaker in February 2004 — the first freshman to legitimately win that job. (Rookie Republican Brian Sentencich briefly held the speakership in 1995, but his election was a Democratic ploy to deny the post to GOP leadership.)

But as interviews progressed, the choice was no longer so obvious as participants pointed not to Nunez but to the head of the Republican caucus — Kevin McCarthy of Bakersfield. And although they were inclined to split the award between the two caucus leaders, the majority of those interviewed put McCarthy first and Nunez second.

The reasons varied, but the factor most often cited centered on how each came to be leader. McCarthy, most believed, had put the deal together himself and without much help, while Nunez was the favored candidate of then-Speaker Herb Wesson and needed Wesson's considerable assistance to reach his goal.

Most insiders also thought that, to date, McCarthy has been the better leader, noting that he had united and re-invigorated his caucus and had become, in a short time, the quickest study in the Assembly (see *CJ*, November 2003). Nunez, on the other hand, was criticized for several missteps, including his attempt to send a bill on pensions to the Senate without a floor vote in the Assembly.

"For his raw political instincts, he's a Brulte-caliber Republican. He far overshadows [Republican Senate Leader] Dick Ackerman. People talk about the GOP being irrelevant, but McCarthy had his handprints all over the budget ... he pretty much got what he wanted. Even though he's dwarfed by Schwarzenegger, McCarthy has had an impact."

"He's very smart. He seems to want quick victories on ideological grounds, but he is more willing than some in his caucus to allow the house to work well."

"It is significant that, on some important issues, [Senate President pro Tem John] Burton will cut his deals with McCarthy and ignore the Democratic caucus."

The Freshman Elite:

Rick Keene (R-Chico), John Laird (D-Santa Cruz), Mark Leno (D-San Francisco), Cindy Montanez (D-San Fernando), Fabian Nunez (D-Los Angeles), Todd Spitzer (R-Orange), Lois Wolk (D-Davis)

Previous winners:

1998: Carole Migden (D-San Francisco)
2000: Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento)
2002: Keith Richman (R-Northridge)

INTEGRITY

Integrity is the Legislature's coin of the realm, for it implies that a member is true to his or her word and can be trusted. Which members are regarded as true to their word? Who is seen to have a moral center, a value system, a sense of personal ethics that guides his or her every action? Which members are genuinely respected, even by those who disagree with them on issues and solutions?

SENATE

Charles "Chuck" Poochigian (R-Fresno)

Chuck Poochigian inherited more than a seat in the Senate from his friend, the late Ken Maddy. He also inherited Maddy's mantle as one of the most respected Republicans in Sacramento. Poochigian's reputation has been forged during long service in state government, including stints in the administrations of governors George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson. He was first elected to the Assembly in 1994, then jumped to the Senate four years later when Maddy was termed out. Termed out of the Senate in 2006, Poochigian remains eligible for one more election to the Assembly.

"He has the Ken Maddy aura: well-respected, honest, hard-working. He's a serious policy guy, not an ideologue."

"He's a lawyer, so he approaches things looking just at the facts. He's not overly partisan; someone both sides can look to. You know he's going to do it the right way."

"They would have made him Republican leader if he wanted it. People trust him, in both caucuses."

Golden Pedigree:

Deirdre Alpert (D-Coronado), John Burton (D-San Francisco), Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica), Tom McClintock (R-Thousand Oaks), Bruce McPherson (R-Santa Cruz), Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto)

Previous Winners:

1998: Jack O'Connell (D-Carpinteria)
2000: Deirdre Alpert (D-Coronado)
2002: Deirdre Alpert (D-Coronado)

ASSEMBLY

Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento)

For many observers, Darrell Steinberg embodies ethics in government. A repeat winner in this category, Steinberg was mentioned half again as many times as any other member of his house. Now in his third and final term, the Sacramento lawmaker chairs the Assembly Budget Committee after heading Appropriations two years ago.

"He just leaps to mind. He's straight."

"With Steinberg, you know exactly where you stand, and there's no back biting."

Golden Pedigree:

Jim Dutra (D-Fremont), John Laird (D-Santa Cruz), Mark Leno (D-San Francisco), Fran Pavley (D-Agoura Hills), Juan Vargas (D-San Diego), Lois Wolk (D-Davis)

Previous Winners:

1998: Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica)
2000: Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica)
2002: Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento)

PROBLEM-SOLVING

The business of legislating — in a sense, the business of a democratic form of government — is solving problems by reaching consensus among those who approach those issues from different points of view. Which members are noted for bringing diverse sides together to find common ground? Who works to build bridges among warring factions? Who will work across the aisle to help move legislation forward, or to push past an obstacle? Who tries to work within his or her own caucus to promote an unpopular idea?

SENATE

Deirdre Alpert (D-Coronado)

Dede Alpert may have suffered in some ways for her sponsorship of SCA 18 (see page 10), but not in the universal opinion of her as the Senate's consummate problem-solver — the go-to person on the toughest issues. As chair of the Appropriations Committee, Alpert encounters those issues often in her arena, where most observers agree that fairness is the rule of the day. It is said that she is the only senator who can back down Senate leader John Burton if Burton himself stands in the way of solving a problem.

"It's the way she handles Appropriations. Very fair. Very methodical. When she says 'no' to people, nobody takes it personally."

"Most people trust her as the go-to senator."

"She unites moderates because she is practical and thoughtful. She is a skilled operator within the system and a good read on where the caucus is at any given moment."

Bridge-builders:

Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), John Burton (D-San Francisco), Joe Dunn (D-Santa Ana), Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica), Chuck Poochigian (R-Fresno), Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto)

Previous Winners:

1998: Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga)
Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)
2000: Brulte
2002: Brulte

ASSEMBLY

Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento)

For the second time in a row, Darrell Steinberg gained universal recognition as the Assembly's — if not the Legislature's — premier problem-solver. As a rookie in 1999, many saw him as a liberal so closely aligned with labor that observers doubted he could fashion the compromises needed to build a solid legislative record. No longer.

"He gets along with everyone, even those who philosophically disagree with him. But this makes people want to reach a compromise with him. He has an amazing ability to defuse 'bad blood' and find common ground. He's magnanimous and makes people feel good about their part in a compromise."

"He has the ability to work both sides. He can bring everyone together to solve a problem."

"He seems committed to offering a fair shake, and I think he does that with everyone."

Bridge-builders:

Joe Canciamilla (D-Pittsburg), John Dutra (D-Fremont), Rick Keene (R-Chico), John Laird (D-Santa Cruz), Mark Leno (D-San Francisco), Kevin McCarthy (R-Bakersfield), Fabian Nunez (D-Los Angeles), Keith Richman (R-Northridge), Juan Vargas (D-San Diego)

Previous Winners:

1998: Curt Pringle (R-Anaheim)
2000: Bob Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles)
2002: Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento)

HARD-WORKING

The cliché that best describes hard work these days is "24/7" — a catch phrase meaning a person is always on the job. Most legislators are "24/7," even though their efforts may not be on display inside the Capitol. For instance, many spend time catering to constituents or "working the district," efforts often invisible to legislative insiders. Others spend countless hours working on their own campaigns for higher offices. This Minnie Award is designed to recognize those who roll up their sleeves inside the Capitol, regardless of the cause. It encompasses more than pure energy; it involves accomplishment — either positive or negative.

SENATE

Deirdre Alpert (D-Coronado)
John Burton (D-San Francisco)
Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica)

These three lawmakers, two of whom are termed out, represent the heart of what is considered a hard-working Senate. Burton, of course, is leader of the Senate and involved in every major (and many minor) fight, issue and dispute. Alpert chairs Appropriations, where every significant piece of legislation flits through the door at one time or another. And Kuehl is simply regarded as being everywhere.

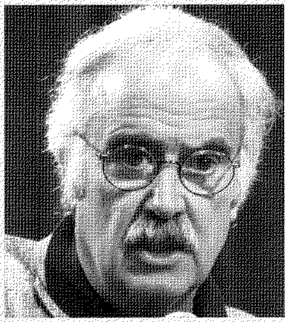
"[Alpert] has been taking on one tough issue after another, across the board. At the beginning of the session, she told a lot of us, 'Give me a list of all the stuff that has not been done, the stuff that is tough, and I'll do it. I'm termed out and I want to leave a legacy.'"

"[Burton] lives and breathes this place. He works very hard, and he protects his members. Look at the stuff he got out, the health bill and the global emissions bill."

"Who would have thought that a liberal, gay woman would be liked and respected by Republican lawmakers? But they do. [Kuehl] is good with interpersonal relationships."

The "24/7" crowd:
Gil Cedillo (D-Los Angeles), Joe Dunn (D-Santa Ana), Chuck Poochigian (R-Fresno), Jackie Speier (D-Hillsborough), Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto)

Previous Winners:
1998: Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)
2000: Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga)
Steve Peace (D-El Cajon)
2002: Joe Dunn (D-Santa Ana)



ASSEMBLY

Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento)

Monotonous, isn't it? This is the third category swept convincingly by Darrell Steinberg who, during the current two-year session, has chaired both the Appropriations and Budget committees. In addition, he has carried heavy water on mental-health reform and local government finance. As a result, he was mentioned at the top of this category more than twice as many times as any other member.

"With his strength in fiscal matters, it makes him a player in almost everything."

"He's everywhere. The guy is out there doing something every night. He's out working on numerous boards, contributing to the needs of society and the community. He's a very hard worker, and he listens to people."

"He never stops and seems to be the go-to guy on every knotty problem in the Legislature."

The "24/7" crowd:
Joe Canciamilla (D-Pittsburg), Jackie Goldberg (D-Los Angeles), John Laird (D-Santa Cruz), Mark Leno (D-San Francisco), Kevin McCarthy (R-Bakersfield), Fabian Nunez (D-Los Angeles)

Previous Winners:
1998: Carole Migden (D-San Francisco)
2000: Bob Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles)
2002: Fred Keeley (D-Boulder Creek)

QUICK STUDY

Until 2002, this category was called "intelligence." But raw brain power isn't enough in an era where legislative tenure is limited and members must come up to speed quickly on a dizzying array of issues — both substantive and political. Thus, intelligence is one element of "quick study," but not the only one. Quick study refers not only to the ability to size up an issue but also to the ability to size up other members — "street smarts," as one insider put it. Who comes up to speed quickly on issues? Who can read other members as well as read a bill? Who immediately understands the politics behind an issue in addition to its policy ramifications?

SENATE

Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica)

A repeat winner, Sheila Kuehl has dominated this award since her days in the Assembly, where she won it in both 1998 and 2000. Two years ago, we noted that Kuehl had complimented her native intelligence with a more polished and aggressive approach to politics. Although very liberal, she has shown a willingness to compromise that has kept her in the running as a dark horse candidate for Senate president pro tempore once John Burton steps down at the end of the current session.

"She can pull a bill apart word-by-word and get the most effective bill. By far, she's the smartest legislator."

"She has a depth of knowledge and a temperament that are critically important."

"She knows both sides of an issue and tells you exactly how she is going to vote. She is articulate and always helpful to other members."

"She figures things out quickly, is fast on her feet in committee, responds to questions quickly."

Fast and adroit:

Deirdre Alpert (D-Coronado), Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), John Burton (D-San Francisco), Joe Dunn (D-Santa Ana), Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto), Jackie Speier (D-Hillsborough)

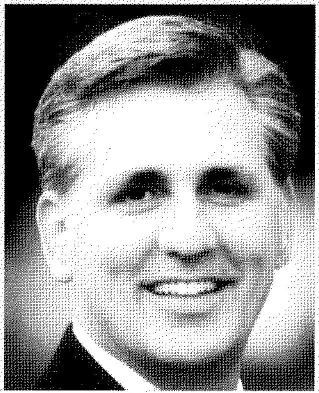
Previous Winners:

1998: Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga)
Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco)
Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward)
2000: Steve Peace (D-El Cajon)
2002: Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica)

ASSEMBLY

Kevin McCarthy (R-Bakersfield)

The issue that most tipped the scales in the contest for "Rookie of the Year" was the regard given Kevin McCarthy for his quick grasp of issues and politics — the one ingredient that many say allowed him to rise so quickly to the top of his caucus, and to become a significant player inside the Capitol despite his status as a rookie from the minority party. He was adept from the outset of his arrival in Sacramento, which is why he was able to become minority leader without much help from anyone.



"He has figured out how things work."

"He gets it. He gets it quick. And — most important — he gets it done."

"Smart, gracious and he 'gets it.' He also has picked very good lieutenants. He's focused and disciplined."

Fast and adroit:

Dario Frommer (D-Los Feliz), John Laird (D-Santa Cruz), Mark Leno (D-San Francisco), Fabian Nunez (D-Los Angeles), Keith Richman (R-Northridge), Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento), Juan Vargas (D-San Diego)

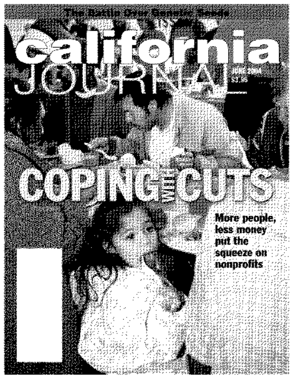
Previous Winners:

1998: Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica)
2000: Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica)
2002: Fred Keeley (D-Boulder Creek)

Bioengineering bias

The article "Frankenseeds" [June 2004] is a biased piece of journalism. If your choice of illustration was not offensive enough, your editorial slant, the cliche of small landholder vs. faceless corporation, reveals your bias. This article violates your claim of "non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics" because you make no effort to present the arguments or evidence of respected scientists, farmers and public advocacy groups that support bioengineering as a means to improve health and eliminate hunger. While I admit that absence of evidence (that bioengineering is harmful) does not constitute evidence of absence (that bioengineering is not harmful), I would also remind you that arguing that corporations will downplay or ignore dangers from bioengineering to make a quick buck is an ad hominem attack playing on a baseless popular distrust of corporations.

Fritz Hemker
Los Angeles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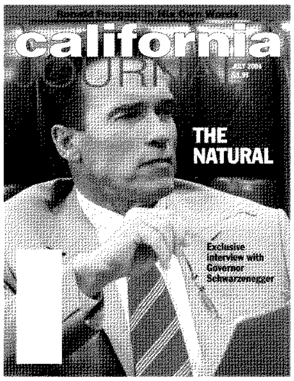
More people, less money put the squeeze on nonprofits


california JOURNAL
THE NATURAL
Exclusive interview with Governor Schwarzenegger

Winners and losers

I read with interest the comments by Tim Hodson on a part-time Legislature ["Who wins?" July 2004 issue]. The more I read the more I realized that Mr. Hodson really did not say "Who Wins?" Sure, he mentioned organized interests, the governor, bureaucracy and he hit on an obvious loser, the 21 counties north of Sacramento. So what's new? The bureaucracy and special interests are already "winners" and have been for years! The *real* northern part of the state are already losers and have been for even more years. Not much would change in my opinion. A comment was made recently at a meeting of the League of California Cities (Northern) that the governor has "power," but it was not mentioned that the taxpayer has power, too. It is high time we look to some other states that have part-time legislatures; they aren't doing so badly. Less professional politicians would be a win in my book and long overdue.

Howard Rien
Eureka

Not so part-time

The column by John Howard [*California Journal* Web site, July 2004] states that California is one of four states with a full-time legislature, along with Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania. I assume this information comes from a report by the National Conference of State Legislatures identifying those four states as the only "full-time" legislatures.

However, as a former legislative staffer and executive department attorney in Albany, N.Y., I can assure you that New York does *not* have a full-time legislature. The legislators may treat the job as a full-time one because, with gerrymandering, incumbents rarely leave office until retirement but the Legislature meets only 2-3 days a week from January through July. During the time of the year the Legislature is out of session, Albany (population approx. 100,000) becomes quiet to the point of somnambulistic.

I was working in the New York Legislature when they broke California's record for the longest budget impasse in U.S. history. Anyone who believes that part-time legislatures are more productive than full-time ones should compare the performance of the full-time legislature in California with the part-timers in New York. Neither could be called a model of efficiency.

David Dumble
Concord

No fan of Arnold

Great article in the *California Journal* ["The Natural," July 2004] but there is a bit of misinformation that should be cleared up [regarding the statement that Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger "reformed a troubled workers' compensation system"]. He reformed nothing and especially not the workers' compensation system. He merely gave an early Christmas gift to his insurance industry buddies whom he said he would take no money from during his election campaign. Arnold Schwarzenegger is a man whose word cannot be trusted as he says one thing and always seems to do another.

He is destroying the lives of thousands upon thousands of hard-working Californians with these draconian changes in the system. Anyone in the Legislature who had the time to read SB 899 voted against it and many legislators were intimidated into voting for it despite their own feelings. They were corralled together in the middle of the night to vote on it so that the people of California couldn't comment upon it.

Sam Gold

Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger insists he is serious about pursuing a part-time Legislature, and recall maven Ted Costa and others are considering an initiative to make it a reality. But would that ballot measure revise or merely amend the state Constitution? It is a distinction with a difference — one that likely will be sorted out by the courts. By John Howard

THE PART-TIME

Californians love to hate their Legislature. The 120 full-time legislators, mostly Democrats, squabble and dawdle and play politics. Democracy, like love, is messy. They write and rewrite the state budget, introduce and vote on bills, decide top government appointees, ride herd on the bureaucracy, investigate the administration, brake executive power, order up audits of government operations, make and break parliamentary rules, and battle over ideas in debates that range from the insipid to the inspired to the imbecilic.

For this, they earn some $8,300 a month, plus per diem and leadership perks. It's considered a full-time gig, as it is in Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania. But for the first time in 38 years, since voters made the California Legislature full time, there's a movement afoot to return lawmakers to the ranks of part-timers.

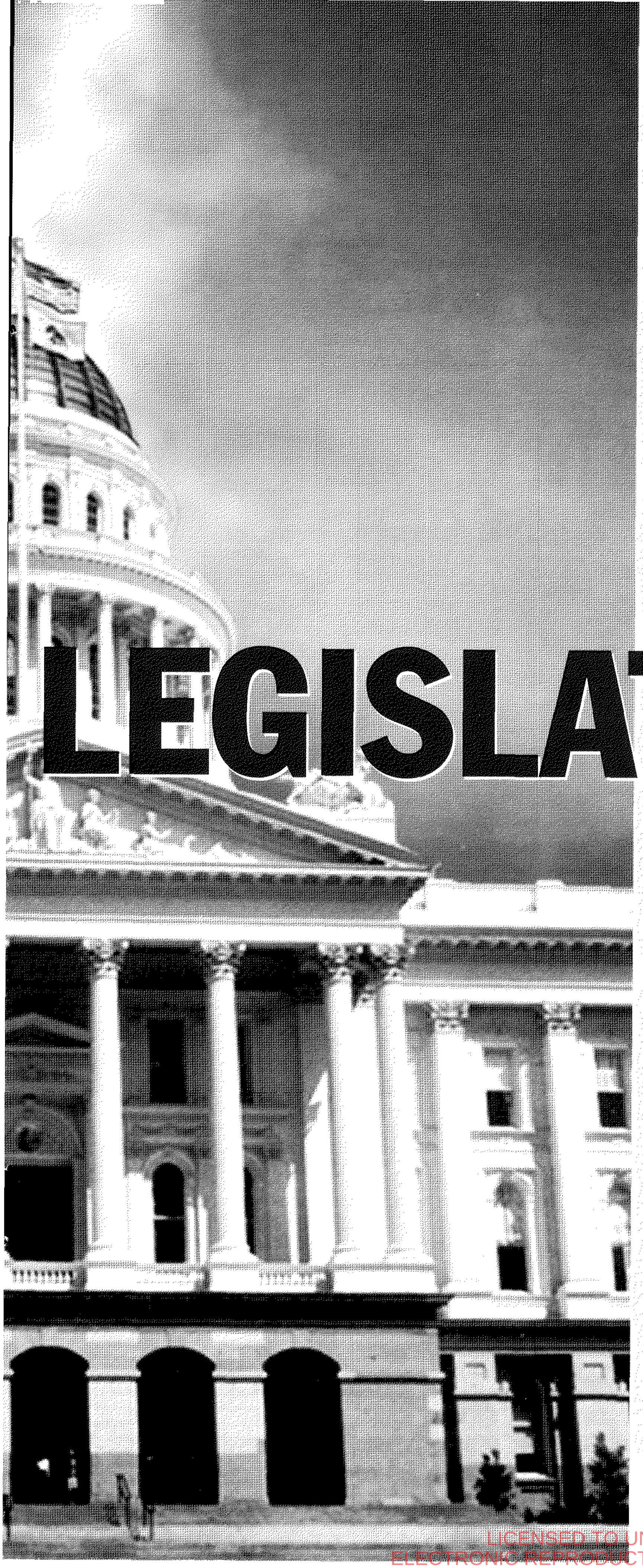
Republican Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, who complains that full-time lawmakers produce too many bills, is among those leading the way. The public seems interested. The legislators are nervous. The courts are waiting.

"Of course, I'm serious about it," Schwarzenegger told the *California Journal*. "I think there is [an] endless amount of bills that are created by legislators when they are not fully occupied with working challenges and serious challenges. And some of them are always occupied with serious challenges, especially the ones that are in charge of certain committees and stuff, they're working very hard. But there's others, you know, where it's better if they just go and take care of business and then go back to work, whatever they do."

Schwarzenegger is playing to a receptive audience: Two-thirds of Republicans dislike the Legislature, as do nearly half of Democrats, according to a Field Poll on May 27.

Voters do, voters undo

On its face, returning to a part-time Legislature seems straightforward: What the voters did in 1966,



LEGISLATURE

they can undo now. But in fact, the issue is a hornet's nest, as much legal as it is electoral. The crux is this: Is changing the Legislature to part-time status a *revision* of the state Constitution, or is it simply an amendment? It's a distinction with a difference. As in last year's recall election, the courts likely will weigh in, and heavily.

A revision may alter the structure of government and the power exchange between the branches, and it may deal with more than one subject. An amendment puts new law into place or changes an existing one, is more limited in scope and doesn't necessarily alter structure.

"When you effect a qualitative or quantitative change in the exercise of power, then it is a revision. A revision changes the substantive balance of power between the branches," said Fred Silva, formerly the executive secretary of the Constitutional Revision Commission and now a government relations expert with the nonpartisan Public Policy Institute of California in San Francisco.

Disputes over constitutional revision are not new, and the distinctions between revision and amendment become blurred. In the most famous case, the state Supreme Court in 1990 rejected argu-

"The reason for changing to full time was that the issues were so complex that it required full-time attention to try and deal with them."
— former state President pro Tem Jim Mills

Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh, who championed a full-time state Legislature. Photo: Bettman/Corbis, 1970

ments that legislative term limits approved by voters in Proposition 140 — six years in the Assembly, eight in the Senate — amounted to a revision to the Constitution and were illegally approved without the Legislature's involvement. Even though Proposition 140 contained far more than term limits — it also eliminated lawmakers' pensions and limited the Legislature's operating expenses, for example — the court said it wasn't a revision because the Legislature's constitutional role was "left substantially unchanged."

Cutting terms, staff and retirement may affect individuals, but the Legislature remains "essentially as previously contemplated by the Constitution," the court noted.

But the same court that same year unanimously struck down a change to the Constitution contained in a provision of voter-approved Proposition 115, a tough-on-crime ballot initiative that sought to give California criminal defendants no greater constitutional rights than those provided in federal courts. The California court said the provision was an improper revision to the state constitution.

"Going to a part-time Legislature requires at least a constitutional amendment, there's little doubt about that. And if it does not change substantively the powers and duties of the Legislature, then arguably under the Proposition 140 case, that's not a revision," Silva noted.

But the Proposition 115 decision shows the court's willingness to recognize the revision issue, he added. Would moving to a part-time Legislature, in conjunction with term limits and other changes approved earlier, constitute a revision? Would the same court, now with different members, rule the same way 14 years later?

Gary Kovall, a legal scholar and senior fellow at the Rose Institute for State and Local Government, said changing the Legislature to part time is both popular with the public and legally defensible as an amendment, and not a revision. Kovall has co-authored a definitive study on California's 1966 transition from a part-time to a full-time Legislature.

"I've never seen anything so overwhelmingly favored by high-propensity voters. There is an utter lack of opposition to this suggestion," Kovall said.

"Really, the Legislature is part time now. They [lawmakers] waste most of the year and cram deadlines and then dump huge, controversial provisions into bills at the eleventh hour," said. "We need change, but I don't see it as negative or abusive. And I don't know that calling these changes 'part-time' is accurate."

Kovall proposes limiting the legislative session, while maintaining a bipartisan interim commission that would make recommendations for legislation, thus giving lawmakers a leg up on worthy bills. "In the interim, there's a lot of thought and research going on. It's kind of what Nevada does. Perhaps it's heretical to say we should look at Texas for anything ... but they do well with a short session every other year. They get bills done and they take care of their state."

The power to revise

If going part time *is* a revision, then the Legislature itself must approve putting it on the ballot or approve calling a constitutional convention to decide the issue. Both acts require approval from two-thirds of both houses. Since neither major party can muster a two-thirds vote on its own, members of both parties would have to agree. In either case, would two out of three lawmakers vote to diminish their role?

Don't bet on it.

If going part time is *not* a revision, then anti-tax advocate Ted Costa or anyone else can bypass the Legislature by circulating petitions to collect signatures to place the issue on the ballot themselves.

"It would win in a landslide," said Costa, the original author of last year's gubernatorial recall initiative, who is considering a part-time initiative for the 2006 ballot. "And why would this be a revision? The voters would only be putting it back to what it was before 1966. This is a very subjective thing."

The Legislature's power over revisions was defined in a 1962 voter-approved ballot measure, Proposition 7, which ended the requirement that any revision to California's Constitution be approved only by a constitutional convention, a rare device.

Indeed, in the 155-year history of the state, California has had only one constitutional convention, in 1879, when 152 delegates rewrote the state's fundamental body of law. Among other things, they changed the number of state Supreme Court justices from five to seven and abolished the state's previous system of police and local courts. But the 1962 law means that legislators and voters, acting together, can revise the constitution without recourse to a convention.

One can almost hear ghostly chortles from the late Democratic Assembly Speaker Jesse "Big Daddy" Unruh. The canny Unruh, who became speaker in 1961, pushed through the 1962 law in part to increase the power of his institution, then the following year pushed through the creation of a blue-ribbon commission to propose revisions to the constitution, which many lawmakers said had become unwieldy and too long.

"It was longer than a Tolstoy novel," noted former Senate President pro Tempore Jim Mills (D-San Diego).

That paved the way for the Assembly to place the full-time provision before voters — a move that Unruh championed, along with then-Governor Pat Brown, soon-to-be Governor Ronald Reagan and the Assembly Republican leadership. Unruh envisioned a powerful Legislature to match a powerful executive branch, with a permanent, bipartisan, professional staff.

The measure, Proposition 1A of 1966, followed commission recommendations, plus other changes sought by the Legislature itself. Mills, then an assemblyman, carried it. It also raised lawmakers' pay to $16,000 annually, boosted the size of staffs, rewrote the Legislature's meeting schedules and provided health coverage, among other things. A 1972 change, backed by Republican Speaker Bob Monagan, expanded Mills' amendment.

Before 1966, lawmakers met for a few months each year — in even-numbered years to write the budget, in odd-numbered years to decide other issues. But as the state's population soared and its problems multiplied, there was general agreement that a full-time Legislature was necessary. The lone vote against it in 1966 was the late Assemblyman Leo Ryan (D-San Mateo), who later went to Congress and was shot to death in 1978 in Guyana while investigating the Jonestown religious cult.

"The reason for changing to full time was that the issues were so complex that it required full-time attention to try and deal with them," Mills said in an interview from his Coronado home. He added that term limits have weakened the full-time Legislature.

"When people voted for term limits, the people said we want to be governed by ignoramuses and, if voters complain about it now, well that's what they wanted. We've got a speaker of the Assembly who doesn't have the faintest idea what's going on. When I was a first-termer, you shut up and listened until you knew enough to talk," he said.

Schwarzenegger also wants to limit the number of bills. Already, senators are limited to 50 bills each per session, and members of the Assembly to 40, although there are exceptions to the rules, and Democrats control the rules. Formally limiting individual bills is all but certain to expand the number of omnibus, complex "committee" bills and boost the power of the committee chairpersons who negotiate them. Since lawmakers have two constitutional duties, write bills and vote on them, would a bill limitation comprise a constitutional revision?

In the end, if approved at the ballot, part time vs. full time is likely to wind up in the courts' lap.

"I don't know if the Supreme Court would invalidate it [a part-time Legislature], but I don't think it would. The courts have been very reluctant to turn down something that the people have passed," said former Legislative Counsel Bion Gregory.

For Mills, the notion of a part-time Legislature is simply a power grab by the governor.

"The reason to weaken the Legislature is to strengthen the executive. That's what it will do. That's what it is intended to do. That's what Schwarzenegger has in mind. Members of the public have been indoctrinated to have contempt for politicians," he said.

John Howard is senior editor of California Journal. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.org**

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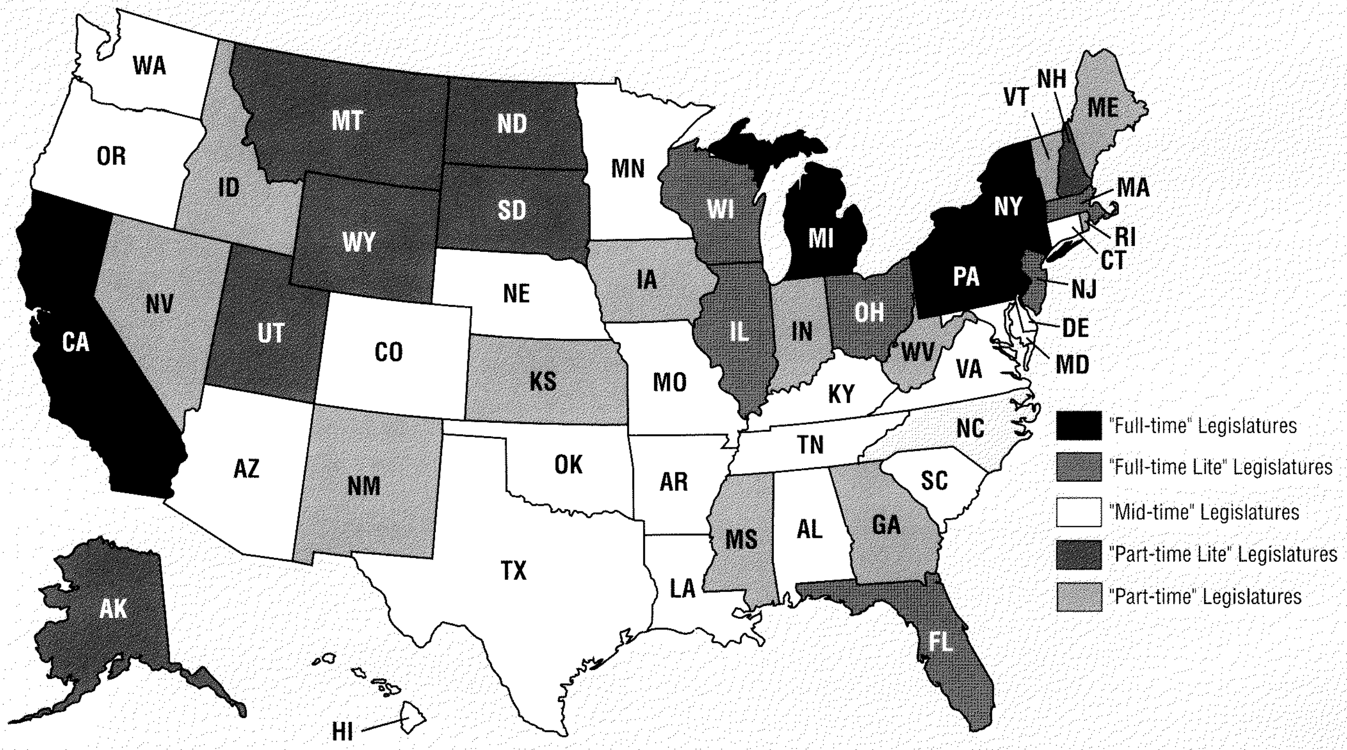
Full-time vs. Part-time Legislatures:

It's not so black-and-white

With 50 state legislatures, it's not so easy defining how much time — or how little — lawmakers spend on the job. There's full time and part time — and every shade in between. Being a legislator is more than just attending session in the Capitol and voting on bills. It also includes time spent meeting with constituents, studying issues, visiting the district and campaigning for election. Based on a survey by the National Conference of State Legislatures, we've mapped the nation's legislatures according to variations of full time and part time.



"Full-time" Legislatures

California is one of only four states — including Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania — whose legislatures are considered to be mostly full-time — where legislators spend the most hours (about 80 percent or more of a full-time job), earn the highest salaries and have more staff members per legislator. These legislatures are considered "professionalized" because holding office is akin to full-time employment with appropriate staffing. They also tend to be the states with the largest populations. Those in the "full-time lite" category — seven states, including Arizona and Colorado — fall slightly below in terms of hours, staffing and salary.

"Mid-time" Legislatures

State legislatures in this category are those in the middle. Their lawmakers have medium-sized staffs and work the equivalent of two-thirds of a full-time job. Although they earn substantially more than their colleagues in the "part-time" category, these lawmakers generally need another job to pay the bills.

"Part-time" Legislatures

These are so-called "citizen legislatures" where the average lawmaker works the equivalent of a half-time job. The compensation is "quite low," requiring them to have other sources of income to make a living. These are generally more rural, less populated states. Those in the "part-time lite" category tend to be slightly less traditional than their true-blue counterparts.

How the states compare...

Category of Legislature	Time on the Job (1)	Compensation (2)	Staff per Member (3)
Full-time	80%	$68,599	8.9
Mid-time	70%	$35,326	3.1
Part-time	54%	$15,984	1.2

Notes:
1. Estimated proportion of a full-time job spent on legislative work including time in session, constituent service, interim committee work and election campaigns. 2. Estimated annual compensation of an average legislator including salary, per diem and any other unvouchered expense payments.
3. Ratio of total legislative staff to number of legislators.

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2004

Time to repeal redevelopment

by Doug Kaplan

Imagine Sacramento lawmakers telling their colleagues in local government, "Before you can borrow money to build a new school, you must hold an election but, if you want to build a new shopping center, you can borrow all the money you want, and you don't have to ask anybody."

Imagine a "California Reverse Land Reform Act," giving local officials the authority to take property from dozens of homeowners and small business people for the benefit of a single big-box retailer.

Imagine a program that has redirected billions of dollars in property taxes from public services to public subsidies for private hotels and shopping centers.

Imagine the all-too-real world of redevelopment.

Redevelopment (Health and Safety Code, Section 33000 et seq.) was conceived by California's postwar Legislature during the heyday of urban renewal as a major weapon in the "war against urban blight." Over the past 50 years, however, redevelopment has mutated into an altogether different weapon in an altogether different war. Today, California communities rarely use redevelopment to fight inner-city blight (most of these communities have no inner-city blight); instead, they use redevelopment to battle each other in a bitter, intercity competition for sales and transient occupancy taxes. They use redevelopment to take private property, sell bonds without voter approval and appropriate property taxes from other public agencies. Redevelopment monies are not being used to *re*develop dilapidated buildings in blighted slums, but to *develop* revenue-generating hotels, stores and shopping centers on prime retail sites.

I am familiar with redevelopment, as both a real estate developer and a former school board trustee. As a developer, I know how easy it is to get public money to build a shopping center. As a former trustee, I know how hard it is to raise money to build a school. In our desperately overcrowded district, for example, we tried three times to pass a school bond, while our local redevelopment agency, without the bother of holding an election, sold bonds that it used to subsidize a Gottschalk's department store, a Red Roof Inn and even a Burger King. We could not raise money to build schools, while our colleagues at the local redevelopment agency were selling bonds to build a fast-food restaurant.

Our community was not alone. Today, California's 384 redevelopment agencies consume about $2.5 billion a year in property taxes, which is nearly 10 percent of all the property taxes collected in the state and, perhaps worse, they have borrowed more money than *all* of the state's 983 school districts combined.

This is not only expensive; it's wrong. Just ask the homeowners or church members whose property was taken by redevelopment agencies for the benefit of businesses that the *Wall Street Journal*'s editorial writers sarcastically refer to as the "better class of taxpayers." Or ask the ever-growing number of resentful former local business owners who paid the taxes that financed the subsidies given to large competitors — competitors that drove them, the local businesses, out of business.

Developers take subsidies because subsidies are there for the taking, not because they need them.

Redevelopment advocates claim that economic development depends upon public subsidies, but they are wrong. Developers take subsidies because subsidies are there for the taking, not because they need them. Just ask community leaders in the small village of Capitola in Santa Cruz County. When the owner of the county's only enclosed mall approached them with an offer to bring Macy's to town — provided the city's redevelopment agency kick in a $2.4 million subsidy — city officials just said "No." Guess what happened? Macy's came anyway — at no cost to the community.

After half a century, California's program to eradicate urban blight has morphed into a boondoggle for private developers who neither need nor deserve public money. Besides, even if subsidies were needed (which they are not), it's time to return to first principles: Taxpayer money should pay for safer roads and better schools, not more shopping centers. It's time to repeal redevelopment.

Doug Kaplan is a real estate developer and former school board member in Santa Cruz County. He's also an editorial page contributor to the San Francisco Chronicle, San Jose Mercury News *and the* Los Angeles Times. *Comments may be sent to* **comments@californiajournal.org**

IT'S THE STRUCTURE, STUPID!

California state government is in one big financial pickle, and when pundits and experts try to explain the problem, they constantly refer to a "structural budget gap." Simply put, revenue from major taxes falls far short of the money the state spends to provide services — a "gap" expected to continue into the future as far as projections can see.

The ongoing hole, estimated by the nonpartisan Legislative Analyst's Office in May to be about $6 billion, is said to be "structural." In other words, economic recovery does not generate enough additional tax revenue to catch up with growth in spending caused by inflation, new caseload and other costs.

As the governor and lawmakers struggled to pass a state budget, they talked constantly about fixing the "structural gap" that causes annual deficits. What is this "gap," and how did a robust state like California get into this kind of pickle?

By Ed Mendel

Fixing a structural gap is painful — the options are to cut spending, raise taxes or some combination of the two. Aside from the fact that no politician wants to inflict pain, the solution is elusive because of the Capitol's political gulf: Democrats oppose spending cuts, and Republicans oppose tax increases. Instead, lawmakers close the gap with temporary measures that do not address the underlying imbalance between revenue and spending. So, the budget gap reopens the following year.

In a single year, the items that can be penciled in to close the gap are limited only by the creativity of the budget writers and the fuzzy boundaries of the law. There are gimmicks galore, such as these from the 2004-05 budget:

- **Accounting:** A simple shift of some prior-year tax revenues, going from the "cash" to the "accrual" method, can be scored as $1 billion in revenue, even though there is no actual change in cash received.
- **Deferred payments:** Reduce spending by pushing costs into the future. An agreement cuts $2 billion from money owed schools under the Proposition 98 guarantee, but schools will have to be repaid in future budgets.
- **Dubious revenue:** Increase revenue by making questionable projections. The budget assumes the state will get $450 million from its share of punitive damages in lawsuits, but experts think the actual yield will be much less.

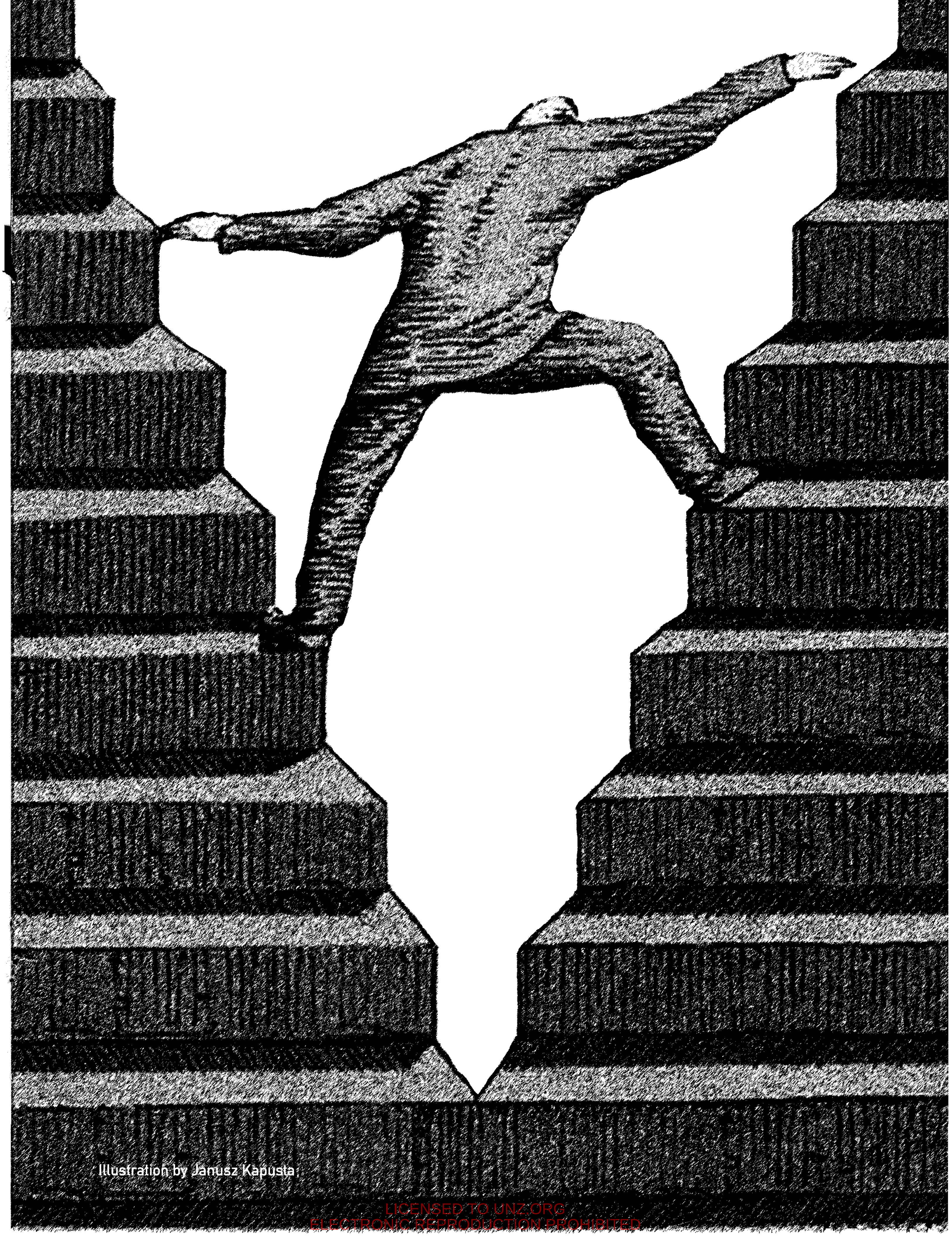


Illustration by Janusz Kapusta.

Fixing a structural gap is painful — the options
combination of the two. Aside from the
the solution is elusive because

- **Internal borrowing:** Dip into special funds earmarked for specific purposes. For example, $1 billion from the sales tax on gasoline, intended for transportation projects, will help close the big gap in the general fund.
- **External borrowing:** Take $2.7 billion from the deficit-reduction bond approved by voters in March and $1 billion in long-term bonds to help pay pension costs. In recent years, a series of short-term loans (such as $14 billion paid off in June) have been used to cover cash shortages and rollover debt from one year to the next.

Does it matter?

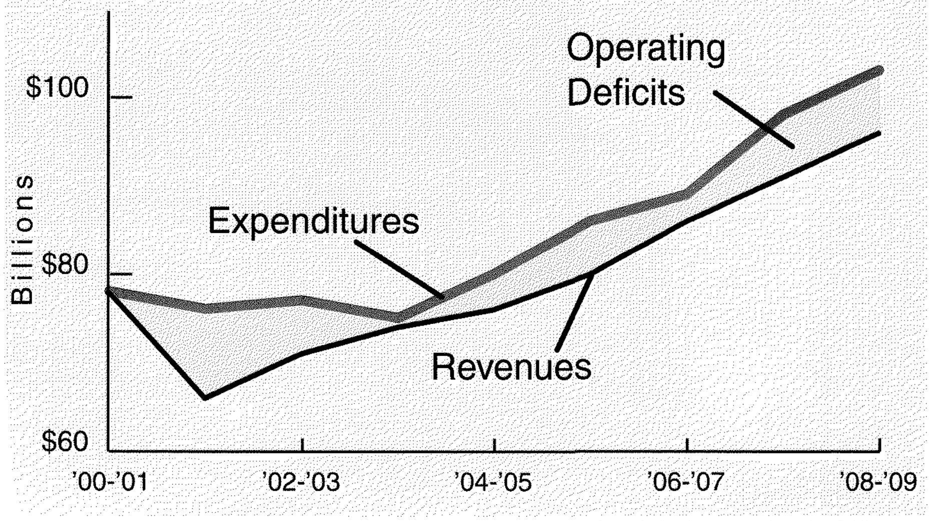
Temporary measures do not firm up the bottom line, but is that really a problem? After all, if the state is kept afloat from one year to the next while avoiding spending cuts and tax increases, what's wrong with muddling through hand-to-mouth?

The answer is that bad things start to happen. One leading indicator for the Wall Street credit-rating agencies, who are paid to advise lenders and bond buyers, is whether a state is keeping spending in line with tax revenue. When a state seems unwilling to correct an ongoing imbalance between spending and revenue, the three big rating services — Standard & Poor's, Fitch's and Moody's — downgrade the state's credit rating. A lower credit rating means the state must pay higher interest rates to borrow through short-term notes or long-term bonds.

As California developed its current structural budget gap, S&P started the parade by dropping California from AA to A+ in April 2001, leaving California with the lowest credit rating of any state — a distinction it still holds after S&P and Fitch upgraded Louisiana in April 2003. Rock-bottom came last summer when S&P dropped California all the way down to BBB, near junk-bond status. It's a Third World-like performance rating for politicians who are the fiscal stewards of a wealthy state with an economy larger than all but a half dozen nations.

Calfornia's Built-in Budget Deficits

Absent new cuts or taxes, California faces a festering $7 billion shortage each year through the end of the decade.



Source: Legislative Analyst's Office

In a statement this spring, S&P said California must show improvement to get an upgrade: "It remains to be seen what progress the final enacted budget will achieve in reducing the size of the state's large ongoing structural deficits of recent years."

Bad as a low credit rating may be, even worse things can happen if temporary measures are used to plug the annual holes in a budget several years in a row. The underlying structural budget gap between revenue and spending could get much larger.

That happened in California when former Governor Gray Davis, a month after his 2002 re-election, delivered the alarming news that the state budget gap had grown to $35 billion, that would increase to $38 billion the following spring. The gargantuan gap, nearly half the size of the state general fund that pays for most programs, helped fuel the anger of those who launched the drive to recall Davis, who was accused of concealing the size of the budget gap until after the election.

After two years of temporary measures and gap-closing gimmicks, Davis proposed a budget in January 2003 based on a painful combination of deep spending cuts and major tax increases. His belated plan was regarded as a credible step toward closing much of the structural gap.

But Davis' stiff dose of bitter medicine hit the usual wall of opposition in the Legislature, from both Democrats opposed to spending cuts and Republicans opposed to tax increases. In the end, lawmakers decided to base the 2003-04 budget on an unprecedented $10.7 billion long-term bond issue, which was immediately put in limbo by a court challenge because it had not gone to a vote of the people.

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act that no politician wants to inflict pain,
f the Capitol's political gulf.

Using long-term debt to pay for the day-to-day operations of government is a hallmark of bad fiscal management — bringing to mind New York City's fiscal crisis of the 1970s. But instead of bringing in a fiscal expert like Felix Rohatyn, who helped manage the New York City crisis, California voters recalled Davis and replaced him with Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger.

One of Schwarzenegger's first moves was to place a $15 billion bond measure on the March ballot, Proposition 57, to resolve the legal challenge to bonds authorized by the budget and to prevent a cash crisis in June, when short-term loans came due. The bonds approved by voters in March will be paid off over the next nine to 14 years, providing a costly and lasting reminder of what can happen when a structural budget gap gets out of hand.

One of Schwarzenegger's other first moves was to repeal an increase in the "car tax," which sent $4 billion to taxpayers but also widened the structural gap.

An unfortunate windfall

The onset of California's current budget problem began, ironically, not with a bust that reduced tax revenue but with a high-tech boom that boosted it, mainly from income tax on stock options and capital gains. Income taxes produced $31 billion in fiscal 1998, spiked to $44.6 billion in fiscal 2000, then dropped to $33 billion the following year. Davis and others repeatedly warned that using "one-time" revenue to pump up spending in ongoing programs would lead to future budget gaps.

But politicians love to play Santa and, despite the warnings, much of the one-time revenue was used to increase permanent spending in programs on education, health and welfare. This was spending that, once increased, was painful to reduce when revenues fell — and the predicted budget gap materialized.

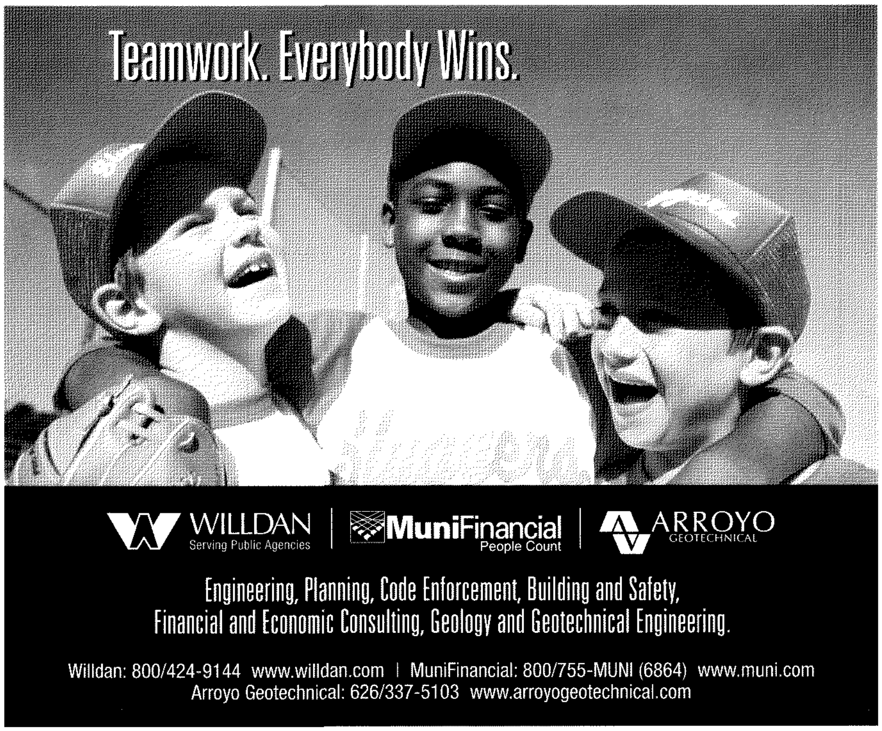
Schwarzenegger's first budget plan is being criticized for failing to do enough to close the structural gap. His original proposal in January for a $76 billion general fund grew by $1.7 billion in May, when a revision dropped major cuts opposed by Democrats in Medi-Cal and other programs. The Republican governor dropped more proposed cuts, increasing spending again, as he moved toward an agreement with the Democratic-controlled Legislature on a new state budget. The summary of the governor's January budget proposal called it a "workout plan," a term often used in private-sector bankruptcies.

Schwarzenegger has said that the budget gap he inherited is too large to close in one year. But the governor, a chess player, has not proposed an alternative showing how the projected gap between spending and revenue would finally close. He has dropped an occasional hint about considering a tax increase in the future.

"People don't want to be taxed now, when we are just about having a chance to come back with our economy and bring California back and make it again the competitive, job-creating machine that it once was," Schwarzenegger told Sacramento radio talk-show host Tom Sullivan in November. "Now is not the time to increase taxes. That's something that maybe we can think about later on."

Democratic legislators, who advocated tax increases in previous years, also were not eager to push again. Their budget writers said there was enough new revenue from tax amnesty, an improving economy and other sources to pay for most of the programs they wanted to protect.

But California voters also seem to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be in no mood for a tax increase. In March, they rejected a labor-backed initiative, Proposition 56, that would have lowered the threshold for approving a tax increase from two-thirds to a 55 percent vote of the Legislature. In the current Legislature, the lower threshold would have meant that Republicans could no longer block a tax increase.

While Democrats may revive their drive for a tax increase in the future, some Republicans will push for a new spending limit. Fiscal conservatives contend that if the Gann spending limit, enacted in 1979 after passage of the landmark Proposition 13 property tax cut, had not been undermined by two initiatives a decade later, the state would not have a budget problem today.

Schwarzenegger originally proposed a spending limit as a companion measure to the Proposition 57 bond issue. But facing opposition from Democratic legislators, the governor agreed to a softer "balanced-budget" requirement, Proposition 58, whose passage critics say will do little to control spending.

A drive to place a Gann-like initiative on the 2006 ballot, limiting state spending to population increases and inflation, is being led by Assemblyman John Campbell (R-Irvine) and two taxpayer groups: the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association and the California Taxpayers Association.

Elusive solutions

A look back at recent history shows that dealing with a structural gap can be difficult. Accurate forecasts are a problem, particularly given big swings in revenue possible under a tax system that relies heavily on the volatile income tax. In November 2000, for instance, the Legislative Analyst's annual Fiscal Outlook predicted a $10.3 billion surplus through the next fiscal year, followed by more lush years in which revenue would annually exceed spending by "well over $3 billion." A year later, the Outlook forecast a $12.4 billion shortfall in the next fiscal year, with a $10 billion gap in following years as revenue projections made "the deepest one-year decline in the post-World War II period."

When former Republican Governor Pete Wilson took office in 1991, he inherited a budget gap that ballooned to $14.3 billion in a general fund of about $40 billion. Wilson, ignoring howls of protest from conservatives in his own party, threatened to "break arms" in the Legislature to push through a painful combination of spending cuts and tax increases. He got his wish, but the solution did not fix the problem, which reappeared as a $12 billion gap the following year.

That lesson has not been lost on Schwarzenegger who has been staunch in his opposition to taxes. He also has been averse to inflicting pain through deep cuts in budget programs.

The result: a structural gap that remains wide open.

Ed Mendel is a Capitol correspondent for the San Diego Union-Tribune. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.org**

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California budget: The toil of summer

WINNING
FOR THE People!
ARNOLD

Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger speaking at the Ontario Mills Mall, scene of his infamous "girlie men" comment. Photo: AP, Matt Sayles, 07/17/04

California began the fiscal year on July 1 without a state budget — golly, there's a surprise — and the first casualties took their hit: the 2,000 Capitol employees whose paychecks were blocked. They were not happy.

Neither were the lawmakers who were unable to reach an agreement by mid-month. Indeed, the only smiling face seemed to be that of Republican Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. The toothy, lantern-jawed governor popped up at rallies to excoriate Democrats and other critics as ineffectual "girlie men up there in Sacramento," who prevented getting a budget approved on time, as Schwarzenegger repeatedly promised to do.

The comment was a bizarre insult — a fourth of the Legislature are women — aimed at the very people Schwarzenegger has publicly praised as his partners. The jibe stemmed from an early "Saturday Night Live" skit in which comedians Dana Carvey and Kevin Nealon lampooned Schwarzenegger and denounced less-developed muscle builders as "girlie men."

"I was a little bit worred about whether Arnold thought he was elected God or elected governor," Senate President Pro Tem John Burton (D-San Francisco) said to reporters, venting the anger of Democrats. "The governor talks to us one day about working together and [how] together we can get this done ... and then another day is going out and insulting our masculinity."

Lost in the rhetoric was the fate of the overdue 2004-05 $102.8 billion budget, which remain stalled as the impasse headed into its third week. The document, as in past years under both Democratic and Republican governors, is a mishmash of huge borrowing, delayed payments, locked-in spending, debt service, health care cuts, college fee increases and transfers of money from one pocket to another. The Democrat-controlled Legislature and the governor appeared close to an agreement, then drifted apart as the partisan rancor heated up and Sacramento's summer hit triple-digit temperatures. As the governor stumped the state to berate his foes, Democrats were convinced that Republicans and the governor were grandstanding, in spades.

The crux of the hangup was the governor's demand that Democrats agree to place before November voters a requirement that future raids on local government funds can be approved only by greater than a two-thirds vote of the Legislature. In return, the cities and counties would provide $2.6 billion to help balance the books over two years. Democrats didn't like the idea, saying it puts a straitjacket on the Legislature and locks into place a deeply flawed scheme. Local governments, meanwhile, were demanding protections and saw a November ballot measure as their only option.

There were other forces at work.

Democratic leaders in both houses appeared genuinely fed up with Schwarzenegger and his Hollywood tough-guy image, and even some Republicans were dismayed at the level of borrowing and spending demanded by a governor who won office by promising to cut the fat from government. Too, Schwarzenegger's penchant for schmoozing the Legislature in Sacramento but dissing it statewide was not winning him allies. Nor did his action on July 15, when he declared at a hastily called Capitol news conference that he would "stay here until 2006" to negotiate a budget, then hurriedly left town for a glittering Beverly Hills fundraiser.

Republicans also linked two non-budget issues to the negotiations, complicating the impasse. Both were mentioned by the governor in January in his State of the State message. One was their demand for the repeal of a new law that expedites labor-violation lawsuits against employers. The other was an attempt to broaden the ability of private firms to contract with school districts to provide busing services. Both issues weren't deal-breakers, but they did nothing to ease frayed tempers.

Another clock was ticking, too. Since it's a presidential election year, the national political conventions were looming, the Democrats in late July in Boston and the Republicans in New York at the end of August. Lawmakers, as well as the governor, are delegates at their party gatherings, and they struggled to wrap things up. This, not the merits of the budget or the state's fratricidal politics, kept the heat on to reach agreement.

John Howard is senior editor of California Journal. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.org**

Eager to change

A trio of fellowship programs offers entrée and on-the-job training in government, becoming California's "Peace Corps of public policy"

By Sandy Harrison

"Be the Change You Wish to See in the World"— Mahatma Gandhi

Four decades ago, a youthful President John F. Kennedy implored civic-minded citizens to "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." In California, dozens of college graduates with a passion for public policy are doing just that each year, vying for coveted internships and fellowships inside and outside the Capitol that put them up-close and personal with government.

As such, these programs have become California's Peace Corps of public policy, a training ground for those willing to live on little while helping change the face of government. Although no one has precisely added it up, hundreds of graduates of these fellowship programs are today working in state, local and national offices. Since the 1940s, these programs have been grooming future political and public policy leaders in California.

Despite Gandhi's declaration — used recently by one fellowship program in its advertisements to attract potential applicants — very few can just walk in the door of the Capitol or other government institution and pitch right in. The fellowships, which pay little but place individuals in a variety of high-level

Photo: Courtesy of Capital Fellows Program, 2003-04.

the world?

government offices, are one of the best spots for on-the-job training.

Currently, there are three primary avenues, ranging from long-standing programs to those still in their infancy. They are:

- The Capital Fellows Program, now a fixture in all branches of California government, which began in the 1950s as an experiment in the state Assembly.
- The Coro Fellows Program in Public Affairs, founded in 1947 by a San Francisco attorney and an investment counselor who believed that public affairs leadership — like law, medicine or business — required specialized, post-graduate training.
- The Modesto-based Great Valley Fellows Program, just two years old, which offers fellowships aimed at eliminating "brain drain" by cultivating future leaders for the Central Valley.

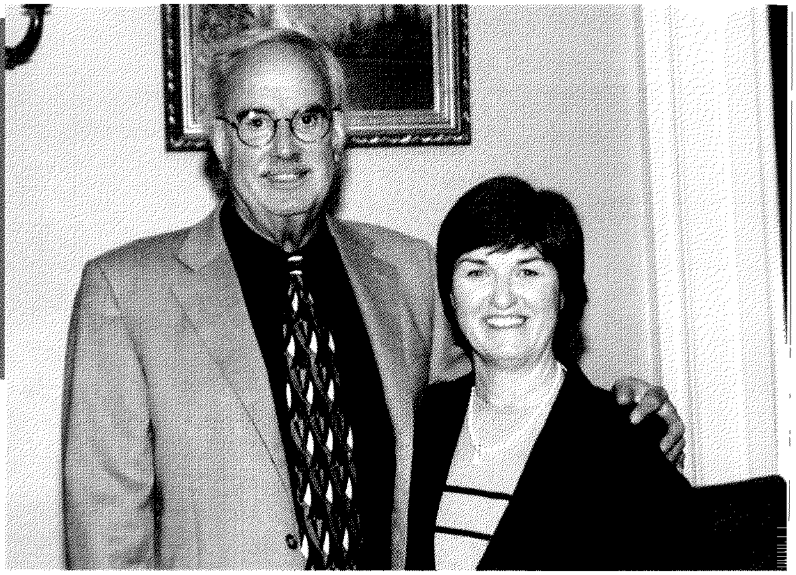
Over the years, they've sprung some of the Capitol and California's most distinguished alumni, names like state Treasurer Phil Angelides, former state Assemblyman and Capitol lobbyist Phil Isenberg, former Congressman Vic Fazio, California Business Roundtable President Bill Hauck, and U.S. Representatives Anna Eshoo and Jerry Lewis.

In terms of sheer numbers, the Capital Fellows program, which is run by The Center for California Studies at California State University, Sacramento, with funding from the state Legislature, has had the largest impact on state government. It's actually composed of four separate fellowship programs that place college graduates in offices within the state Assembly, Senate, the judicial and executive branches of government.

In addition to their workplace assignments, each fellow is required to spend 90 hours on academic classwork at CSUS, including weekly seminars.

Last year, 1,100 applications were considered for 64 available slots, said Tim Hodson, executive director of The Center for California Studies. Those who are chosen work for 11 months in their assigned state office, receive a monthly stipend of $1,882, while earn-

> **"Without the fellowship, landing a job in the Legislature never would have happened. That was the reason I was able to get in. I wasn't an insider; I was like, nobody."**
> **— Elisabeth Kersten**



Senator John Burton with Elisabeth Kersten, former Capital Fellow, at her retirement as Senate Office of Research director

ing 12 CSUS graduate credits.

"The purpose of the programs are to create an opportunity to engage in public service, to develop what we hope will become future leaders in California—whether at the local PTA or the statehouse—people who can return something to the common good and provide state government with access to very bright, competent people who can help government do its job," Hodson said.

More than 1,200 Capital Fellows have completed the program since it began nearly 50 years ago. Although most of the applicants have college degrees in political science, they come from diverse majors, including engineering, business, sociology, psychology and the humanities.

Hodson believes the fellowship programs have proven their worth, sending alumni not only to state government, but also to posts in city and county governments, the U.S. Congress and the California Supreme Court. In any given month, Hodson said, more than half the offices of the Legislature employ at least one former fellow.

"It's never been measured in a scientific way, but there's certainly plenty of anecdotal evidence to suggest that in most state offices, former fellows are hot commodities," he said, presumably because they've already learned the nuts and bolts of their job.

Elisabeth Kersten, who recently retired as director of the Senate Office of Research, credits her 1971-72 Assembly fellowship for providing her with an introduction to state government, and ultimately leading to her successful climb to the director's post. She was the only woman to complete her fellowship program in 1972 and, afterward, became just one of two women professionals working for Assembly committees. Without the fellowship, Kersten said, landing a job in the Legislature never would have happened.

"That was the reason I was able to get in. I wasn't an insider; I was like, nobody," Kersten recalled. "My parents weren't even U.S. citizens and they weren't politically active. I didn't know anyone and had no one rooting for me. But I came to the state out of college through this very competitive process."

Kersten has seen many "outsiders" become valuable Capitol staffers via the fellowship program — and frequently hired former fellows for her own staff. "I think that's how it has benefited the state. It's been an entry point, a place to recruit young people, recent college graduates, to enter the political system,"

Sacramento historian Elizabeth Barham Austin recently researched the history of the Capital Fellows Program for an upcoming book. She conducted interviews and pored over transcripts and tapes from oral histories housed in the CSUS library.

"Repeatedly, I heard the phrase 'life-changing' from those who went through it," Austin said. "As time went on, people who participated through the Fellows program were able to get involved in political, legislative, executive and judicial work—people who otherwise wouldn't have had that opportunity."

According to Austin's research, the Fellows program took shape in the late 1950s as a result of some —but not all — legislators' desire for a more professional staff and academicians' hopes for a more hands-on method of teaching governmental studies. The Assembly began its fellowship program in 1957, but the Senate, dominated by older, rural and generally less progressive-minded legislators at the time, was openly skeptical of allowing young interns into Capitol offices.

In her research, Austin found quotes from then-state Senator George Miller of Martinez — father of current U.S. Representative George Miller (D-Concord) — who worried that the program would harm incumbent politicians by producing more qualified challengers to run against them. "These kids will be coming up here, will be running against you just as soon as they learn where the bodies are buried ... You're just asking for some candidate kid to run against you ... I don't want any part of it," Miller said.

Another legislator from the 1950s, Republican Assemblyman Carl Britschgi of Redwood City, bristled at the very thought of reading a bill analysis written by an intern. "What's the idea of having this guy, who isn't even elected to office, write this piece of paper and attach it to the bill?" he asked.

Nevertheless, by the mid-1960s, Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh was calling the Assembly fellowship program "an unqualified success" and a key ingredient in his effort to professionalize the Legislature. The Senate, however, held off for another 15 years, finally adopting a fellows program in 1972.

The Capital Fellows program expanded to the executive branch in 1985 at the request of Governor George Deukmejian, to include placements in various state agencies, departments, commissions, constitutional offices and the governor's office. In 1997, it expanded again to encompass judicial assignments, including the Judicial Council in Sacramento, the Administrative Office of the Courts in San Francisco, and various county superior courts.

Among the more interesting findings in Austin's study of the Capitol Fellows' history:

- Over the years, legislators have complained that the program failed to include sufficient numbers of African Americans and Latinos, or failed to attract the interest of Republican applicants. When the Senate program began in the early 1970s, its selection panel stipulated that interns should reflect the diversity of California's population.
- In the program's early years, very few women participated, and those who did said they felt subtle sexual harassment in the male-dominated Legislature.
- Early attempts to make appointments based on patronage rather than merit came to a head in the early 1970s when the chair of the Assembly Rules Committee, Democrat John Burton, demanded that a applicant from his district be accepted, even though the individual didn't meet the program's academic requirements. When his candidate was rejected, Burton tried to kill funding for the program, but was overruled by then-Speaker Bob Moretti. Just recently, Burton, as Senate president pro tem, endorsed another applicant who ultimately was not chosen. This time around, Burton's reported response was to compliment the program for sticking to its standards.
- A temporary name change to "Associates" occurred in the 1990s because then-Senate President pro Tem Bill Lockyer worried that the name "Fellows" sounded sexist. His successor, Burton, disagreed and the name was changed back to "Fellows."
- Since term limits, there's been a significant increase in the number of legislators who have requested fellows. In the state Assembly, there were three times as many requests in the 2003-04 session as there were fellows available. This year, nearly two-thirds of the 120 legislators in both houses requested a fellow for the 36 slots in the Assembly and Senate.

Coro Fellows

The Coro Fellows Program in Public Affairs was nearly than 60 years ago to "prepare citizen leaders" via a structured program of "educational discovery. According to its Web site, Coro is an invented name chosen to represent the notion of "discovery and exploration."

Each year, it selects 68 people from 400-500 applicants for its full-time, nine-month fellowship in public affairs at Coro centers in San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Pittsburgh and St. Louis.

Of those, 12 each are selected for the two Coro centers in California.

Coro also offers a part-time program for adults in community service leadership plus a summer internship program, "Exploring Leadership," for 36 high school students in Northern California. The programs' funding comes from corporations, private foundations and individuals.

In San Francisco alone, the Coro fellows meet with individuals from more than 400 organizations and contribute 10,000 hours of community service, said Maria Nicolacakis, Coro's Northern California director of development and marketing and herself a 1999 Coro fellow.

"They rotate through a series of placements, they interview community members, work on group and individual projects and participate in focus weeks in various topics," she said. "We give people experience, tools and a network; we have partnerships with a lot of people in government, labor, business, media, non-profits and political campaigns."

A Coro fellow, she said, leaves the program with a greater awareness of — and confidence in — his or her own leadership abilities. "We strike a delicate balance by pushing the participants so they can stretch to a new comfort level that they probably wouldn't go to on their own," she said.

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Ultimately, Coro is about cultivating involvement in civic affairs—getting people to take note of their state and local community. "We take folks who have some passion and some desire to be part of making our communities better," said Maureen McNulty, head of Coro Northern California. "Coro is really about giving you the motivation and skills to be part of your community on a daily basis. It becomes part of your DNA."

Great Valley Fellows

The Great Valley Fellows Program, started in 2002, was formed with the hope of creating leaders who will stay and work in California's Central Valley. It's a full-time, 11-month program for college graduates, run by the Great Valley Center, a nonprofit center based in Modesto that promotes leadership and policy study of Central Valley issues. Its fellows program is funded by the James Irvine Foundation and the William and Flora Hewlett foundations.

"The most compelling thing that we bring to the table is the focus on the Central Valley," said Don Schwartz, director of the center's leadership programs. "We think the Central Valley, from a public policy perspective, is and will continue to be one of the most interesting and challenging places in California."

As one of California's most rapidly growing and changing region, Schwartz said the Central Valley is generating an urgent demand for new leaders. "The Valley has a lot of choices to make about what the future looks like, and we still have time to make the choices. For people who want to be in on the process, as an observer or a participant, this is the place to be."

The Great Valley's 16 fellows, selected from about 70 applicants, receive a $12,000 stipend for their 11 months of work. They visit all 18 Central Valley counties, serve apprenticeships in various public, private and nonprofit organizations, attend weekly seminars and monthly workshops and conduct their own consulting projects.

Schwartz said the fellowships are a way of keeping the best minds in the Central Valley from moving elsewhere.

"Brain drain has been a problem for the Valley and we see this as a way to mitigate that, particularly with some of the best and brightest who are interested in public affairs, who are able to take on leadership roles address the challenges facing the Valley," he said.

Whether they stay in the valley or migrate elsewhere in state or local government, California's crop of public policy fellows may be the best breeding ground the state has for grooming its future leaders.

Sandy Harrison is a communications consultant and former reporter for the Los Angeles Daily News. *He served as communications director for several public officials, including state Senator John Burton and state Controller Steve Westly. Comments may be sent to* **comments@californiajournal.org**

Some notable California alumni of fellowship programs

Capitol Fellows:

- **David Doerr,** '60, chief tax consultant, California Taxpayers' Association
- **Rose Bird,** '61, former Chief Justice, California Supreme Court
- **Ronald Robie,** '61, former Director, Dept. of Water Resources; Justice, California Appellate Court, Third district
- **Barry Keene,** '65, former State Senator
- **Howard Berman,** '66, Congressman, former Assembly member
- **Elisabeth Kersten,** '72, former Director, Senate Office of Research
- **Lindsay Desrochers,** '75, Vice Chancellor for Administration, UC Merced
- **Alison Harvey,** '78, Chief of Staff, Senate president pro tem
- **Lilly Spitz,** '78, Chief Legal Counsel, California Planned Parenthood
- **Ted Lascher,** '79, Chair, Department of Public Policy and Administration, CSUS
- **Loretta Lynch,** '84, California Public Utilities Commission member
- **Mike Thompson,** '84, Congressman, former state Senator
- **Dean Florez,** '88, state Senator

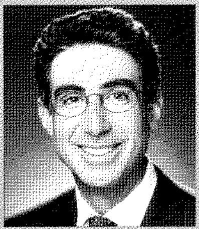
Rose Bird

Howard Berman

Coro:

- **Dianne Feinstein,** '56, U.S. Senator, former San Francisco mayor
- **Helen Dewar,** '58, writer, *The Washington Post*
- **Marvin Baxter,** '63, California Supreme Court Associate Justice
- **Vic Fazio,** '66, former Congressman and Assemblyman
- **Phil Angelides,** '75, State Treasurer
- **Anna Eshoo,** '79, Congresswoman
- **Diana Tasaka,** '84, Director of Corporate Communications, Farmers Insurance Group, Inc.
- **Alice Fialkin,** '94, President, Transport Workers Union/SF Muni
- **Alex Padilla,** '95, Los Angeles City Council member
- **Tom Hoeber,** '65, director of alumni relations, CSU Hayward, executive director of Coro National, *California Journal* co-founder
- **Jud Clark,** *'63,* CEO and President of State Net, *California Journal* co-founder

Dianne Feinstein


Phil Angelides

The great voter divide

by Dana Wilkie

During the past decade, one of the most important developments in national politics has been the tendency for voters to move away from the major parties — to define themselves as "independent" voters more inclined to choose candidates based on issues than on party affiliation.

But one of the great ironies about California politics is that the state's independent voters — California has added 1 million of them since 1994, 16 percent of the electorate — don't have a proportionate voice in the statehouse or in Congress. That's the conclusion from studying Mark Baldassare's recent analysis of how California's Republican and Democratic voters are growing increasingly divided on just about every major public policy issue.

Baldassare, research director at the nonpartisan Public Policy Institute of California, concludes that on key questions and issues, Republicans and Democrats have moved farther apart than they were four to six years ago.

> Those on the political fringes are making the decisions in this state.

Had you asked in 2002 whether Washington could be trusted to do what was right "just about always" or "most of the time," California Democrats and Republicans were pretty much on the same page: 42 percent of Democrats and 47 percent of Republicans agreed with that statement. Today, 17 percent of Democrats feel Washington can be trusted, compared to 43 percent of Republicans. The five percentage points that separated the parties on this question two years ago has now widened to 26 points.

In 1998, Democrats and Republicans felt equally about Congress' performance: One in three Democrats and Republicans gave Congress an "excellent" or "good" rating. Today, only 28 percent of California Democrats think that highly of Congress, while 37 percent of Republicans do.

"Back in 1998, Democrats and Republicans weren't any different on this issue, so it doesn't all have to do with whether your party is in power," Baldassare said while in Washington, D.C., recently to discuss his report, "The Growing Partisan Divide," which analyzes the state's changing political psyche since 1998.

Since the last presidential election, California Democrats and Republicans have moved farther apart on a host of other issues: Are stricter environmental laws and regulations worth the cost? The partisan gap has grown 16 points. Are immigrants a benefit to California because of their hard work and skills? The divide has grown by 11 points. Should gays and lesbians legally marry? The gap has widened by eight points. Should government interfere in abortion rights? The gap is now five points wider.

"The division was there four years ago, but what's different today is that the parties are [even] more divided," Baldassare said. "It's rare in my business that you see such a consistent pattern across a variety of questions ..."

We read and hear that we can blame partisan lawmakers for drawing partisan legislative districts that produce partisan officeholders who have lost the art of political compromise, which in turn has led to legislative gridlock, initiative wars and low voter turnout in California. But someone put these highly partisan people into office in the first place. And that "someone," Baldassare would say, was a highly partisan electorate.

As more moderates pull out of political parties or decline to join them, those who remain are more inclined to take left- or right-leaning views on just about every issue. These are the only voters now allowed to vote in California primaries. Even "moderates" within the parties are inclined to stay home Election Day, so disenfranchised do they feel from the partisan wrangling that typically accompanies primaries.

In other words, those on the political fringes are making the decisions in this state — from the ballot box to the statehouse to the halls of Congress. And that means moderate and independent voters — who represent an increasingly large proportion of the California electorate — don't have a commensurate voice. Ironically, we can blame the political dysfunction in this state on the increasing number of voters who disassociate themselves from political parties. Or, perhaps we can blame it on a political system that discourages these voters from participating in the first place.

Baldassare considers the open primary measure on November's ballot — which would allow independents to participate in California's primary elections — among the key antidotes to political gridlock, voter disenchantment and government by initiative. It stands to reason that, if an increasing number of Californians identify themselves as middle-of-the-road, "independent" voters, they should have an increasing say about who represents them in Sacramento and Washington.

At least, that's the way it's supposed to work.

Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for Copley News Service. Send comments to **comments@californiajournal.org**

Performance Picks:

The governor's reform team

They include a mayor, legislators, lawyers, union and business people, professors and a sheriff. The 21 members of the California Performance Review Commission recently announced by Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger will work volunteer fact-gatherers, conducting four public hearings statewide to gather input on recommendations for how government can do its job leaner, meaner and more efficiently. It's all part of the governor's goal to cut government waste, one of his recall campaign promises.

Bill Hauck

Joanne Kozberg

The co-chairs are: **Bill Hauck**, president of the California Business Roundtable and a trustee of the California State University system, and **Joanne Kozberg**, a UC Board of Regents member and a partner in California Strategies, a public affairs consulting firm. (Both co-chairs also are members of the *California Journal*'s nonprofit board of directors.) The legislators include: **Assm. Patricia Bates** (R-Laguna Niguel), **Sen. Jim Brulte** (R-Rancho Cucamonga), **Sen. Denise Ducheny** (D-San Diego) and **Assm. Leland Yee** (D-San Francisco). Others include: **Jay Benton**, executive vice president of ABC Industries, Inc.; **Dale Bonner**, Los Angeles attorney and former deputy general counsel to Gov. Pete Wilson; **James Canales**, president and CEO of the James Irvine Foundation; Orange County Sheriff **Mike Carona**; San Jose Vice Mayor **Patricia Dando**; **David Davenport**, a public policy law professor and a Hoover Institution research fellow; **Joel Fox**, president of the Small Business Action Committee, who formerly headed the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Committee; **Dr. Steve Frates**, senior fellow at the Rose Institute of State and Local Government, Claremont-McKenna College; **Russ Gould**, fiscal advisor and president of the Gould Group, and a former state Health and Welfare Agency Secretary under Gov. Pete Wilson; **Irene Ibarra**, an attorney and executive vice president of The California Endowment; **J.J. Jelnic**, president of the California State Employees Assoc.; **Steven Olsen**, vice chancellor for finance/budget at UCLA; **Beverly O'Neill**, mayor of Long Beach; **Peter Taylor**, head of Lehman Brothers, Inc.'s public finance department; and **Carol Whiteside**, former Modesto mayor and current president of the Great Valley Center.

One of the first places they won't need to cut: their salaries. Each commission member serves for free.

Administration

Among the governor's recent appointments: **Richard "Dick" Ross**, an assistant GOP team leader for the governor's California Performance Review, has been appointed chief of the Bureau of Automotive Repair ($111,700). ... **Victoria Bradshaw** was named secretary of the Labor and Workforce Development Agency ($131,400). ... New to the Office of Inspector General, which oversees state prison investigations, are **Charles D'Arcy**, a supervising deputy district attorney in Sacramento County, appointed as chief assistant inspector general, bureau of audits and investigations ($120,400), and **David Shaw**, deputy executive officer of the Victim Compensation and Government Claims Board, appointed as chief assistant inspector general, Bureau of Independent Review ($120,400). ...Three new appointees to the State Compensation Fund Board are **Jeanne Caine** (chair), senior vice president with the California Chamber of Commerce; **Kent Dagg**, executive director of Shasta Builders Exchange in Redding; and **Vincent Mudd**, president of San Diego Office Interiors. The posts receive $100 per diems but no salary. ... The newest addition to the state Board of Education is Ranjit "Ricky" Gill, a 17-year-old high school senior from Lodi, appointed as student member.

Legislative

Assm. Cindy Montanez has hired two former

Capitol chiefs of staff: **Rocky Rushing** (see box) and **Juan Carlos Torres**, former chief of staff to Assm. Marcos Firebaugh, who serves as Montanez's Capitol director and liaison to the Latino Caucus. To replace Torres, Assm. Firebaugh promoted his communications director, **Ricardo Lara**, to chief of staff. ... **Christopher Woods**, chief consultant to the Assembly Budget Committee, was elected president of the Sacramento County Board of Education. ... **Assm. Ken Maddox** (R-Garden Grove), due to be termed out in November, has already landed his first post-term-limits gig: He'll be an unpaid senior fellow with UCLA's School of Public Policy and Research, following in the footsteps of former Assembly members Antonio Villaraigosa and Rod Pacheco. ... Former legislative consultant **Peter Mackler** has been named director of governmental relations and policy at MemorialCare Medical Centers in Southern California. ... **Carl Ingram**, who recently left the *Los Angeles Times* after more than 25 years as a reporter, has become an assistant consultant in the Senate Rules Committee (see "Upfront").

Capitol Staff:
Rushing in

Rocky Rushing

As chief of staff to the Capitol's legendary leftist, **Rocky Rushing** was as colorful as his former boss, state Senator Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica) (See "Upfront"). Since Hayden's term-limited departure in 2000, Rushing has been a quiet Capitol rover, working for Sen. Pres. pro Tem John Burton (D-San Francisco) on California Youth Authority issues and serving as lead consultant to Sen. Gloria Romero's (D-Los Angeles) Senate prison oversight committee. He recently switched houses, becoming chief consultant to Assm. Cindy Montanez (D-San Fernando), one of the Legislature's youngest members and chair of the Assembly Rules Committee. According to Rushing, moving from the staid Senate to the more flamboyant Assembly is like being thrown from the "Lawrence Welk ballroom into the MTV mosh pit." But with Montanez making marks as a smart, upwardly mobile lawmaker, Rushing could be waltzing back into the Senate before too long.

Other

Anne Stausboll, former chief deputy treasurer to state Treasurer Phil Angelides, starts in September as CalPERS' Assistant Executive Officer of Investment Operations. CalPERS also promoted **Leon Shahinian** to senior investment officer for its alternative investment management program. ... **Rayne Thompson**, governmental affairs director for the Agricultural Council of California, becomes director of International Trade and Plant Health for the California Farm Bureau. ... The Victim Compensation and Government Claims Board, which oversees payment to crime victims, has appointed **Karen McGagin** as its executive officer. McGagin, who previously served on the board in the late 1990s, more recently was deputy executive director of the Office of Public School Construction. ... **Jose Huizar**, a land use attorney from East Los Angeles, was re-elected president of the Los Angeles City Board of Education. ... The CA State Employees Assn. (CSEA) hired **Steve Mehlman**, former state director of the Atlanta-based Georgians for Health Care, as communications director. ... The California Independent System Operator (CAL-ISO), which manages the state's electricity grid, has named **Marcie Edwards**, general manager of Anaheim Public Utilities, as interim CEO to replace Terry Winter, who resigned in June. ... Schubert Public Affairs has hired **Justin Caporusso,** formerly with Edelman Public Relations in Sacramento, as a senior account executive to work on managing statewide ballot initiatives in California, Oregon and Nevada.

Karen McGagin

These pages are prepared with substantial help from ***"The Capitol Morning Report,"*** *a comprehensive daily e-mail and fax listing of events, appointments, staff changes, lobbyist registrations and fund raisers in and around Sacramento. For more information, call (916) 443-5883.*

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GOP BATTLES IN BAKERSFIELD

Kern County is a Republican stronghold, one that attracts party notables from George W. Bush to Nancy Reagan. But despite their successes, Kern Co. Republicans are beset with factional infighting that sometimes mirrors party rifts statewide. At its center is one of the most powerful Republicans in the country — House Ways and Means Chairman Bill Thomas.

By Kurt Bardella

Assembly Republican leader Kevin McCarthy (R-Bakersfield) is justifiably proud of his home turf, even boasting of it as "the real state capital of California." McCarthy's hyperbole aside, Bakersfield and Kern County are strongholds for the Republican Party. As of February 2004, the GOP claimed 49 percent of Kern's registered voters, compared with only 36 percent for Democrats.

As a result, Bakersfield has now become a Republican "g-spot," hosting lavish pep rallies for the party's political elite, including President George W. Bush, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger and former First Lady Nancy Reagan. The local party also boasts two influential politicians who operate on opposite coasts — U.S. Representative Bill Thomas, chairman of the all-encompassing House Ways and Means Committee, and McCarthy, who last fall became Assembly Republican caucas leader after less than a year in the Legislature. From all outward appearances, the Republican Party in Bakersfield is thriving.

But a less parochial observer might wonder if Kern County also serves as the Republicans' "canary in the coal mine" — a warning signal that all is, or is not, well with party efforts to overcome years of intense infighting between conservatives and moderates. Soothing these rifts is considered a key to Republican revival statewide, and to making the party a more viable force in California politics.

Thomas, for years the county's most powerful politician, is one focal point for Kern factionalism. The other is a former Thomas protégé, state Senator Roy Ashburn.

The rise of Bill Thomas

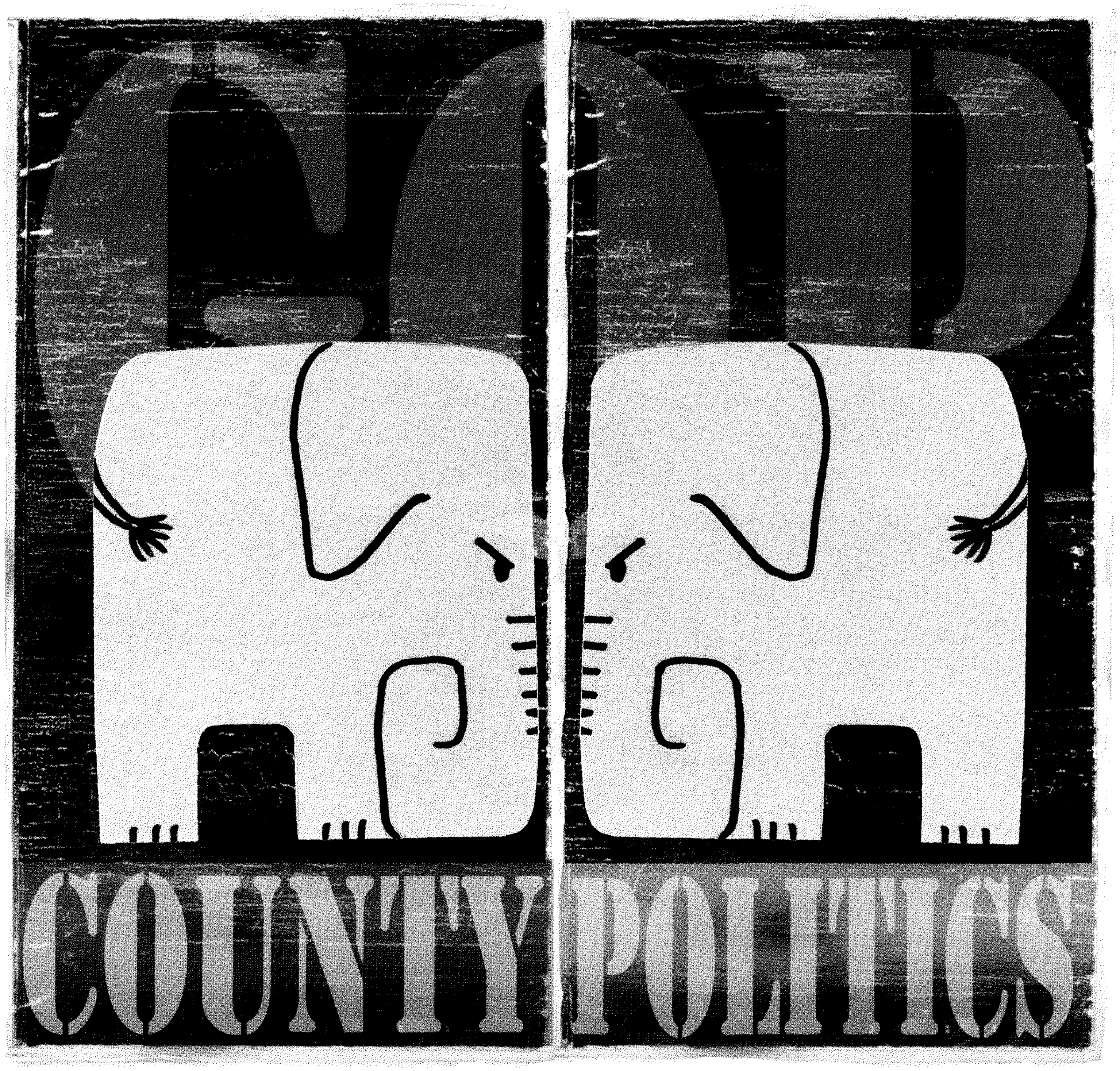
Bill Thomas first came to Bakersfield in the fall of 1965 as a political science professor at Bakersfield Community College. That position quickly gave him entree to the local political establishment, and it wasn't long before he was asked to lead what was then a flagging Republican Party.

"While President Nixon was running his campaign for re-election [in 1972]," recollects Thomas, "many of the community leaders, who I had worked with through my classroom program, came to me and asked how we could build up our local party so that no one could take it over."

At the time, the majority of officeholders representing Bakersfield were Democrats, and some in the GOP community felt that situation existed because Republicans were too far to the right. There was deep concern that the local party was not competitive in elections because the local GOP establishment was controlled by what some characterized as "radical right-wingers."

The local party chairman at the time was Jim Henry, a staunch conservative. Among his allies was a Bakersfield city councilman named Don Rogers, who would go on to a career in both houses of the California Legislature before being termed out in 1996. Rogers was regarded as one of the Legislature's most conservative members. Before Thomas arrived on the scene, many members of the local GOP central committee were allies of Henry and Rogers.

Thomas orchestrated a takeover of the Kern County Republican Central Committee and became its chairman in 1973. The following year, the committee nominated Thomas for a seat in the state Assembly. Thomas foreshadowed the rise of local Republicanism by knocking off an incumbent Democrat, Ray Gonzalez. His victory was all the more impressive because 1974 was a difficult year for Republicans, both in California and nationally, due to Nixon's resignation in the wake of the Watergate scandal. Four years later, Thomas was elected to the first of 13 terms



in Congress.

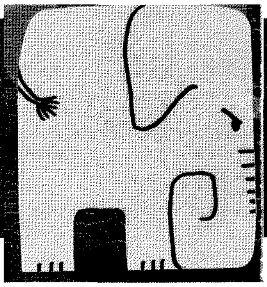
Mark Abernathy, a political consultant from Sacramento, moved to Bakersfield about the time Thomas began his rise to power, and he and the future congressman became allies. (Abernathy's wife, Cathy, was a staff assistant to then-Assemblyman Thomas and eventually became his chief of staff.) He shared Thomas' belief that the strength of the party lay in building up the local establishment and wresting control from what Abernathy called "the radical right."

To Abernathy, the "radical right" focuses too much attention on issues that fail to resonate with ordinary voters — gun control, gays, minority rights — and too little attention on issues of interest to "true conservatives" — business climate, taxes, fiscal responsibility and limited government.

"At the time," Abernathy said, "the local Republican Party, while still being a minority party, was controlled by an even smaller minority — radical right-wingers. This radical group represented a smaller segment of the voters, so when Bill started working on taking over the party's central committee, he won 17 of the 21 seats because the radical right was out of touch with most voters."

The distance between the Republican right and the

Kern County may serve as the Republican "canary in the coal mine" — a warning signal that all is not well after years of intense infighting between conservatives and moderates.



average California voter was not unique to Bakersfield in 1974 but was — and is — a problem that often plagues the party. Abernathy cites it as one reason why Republican Bill Simon lost to Democrat Gray Davis for governor in 2002, but it also can be applied to a plethora of statewide Republican candidates over the past 30 years.

"When we were in the minority all of those years," says Thomas, "I realized that a lot of the voters had conservative values, but it was their parents who were Democrats. So I tried to combine the Truman Democrat with the Reagan conservative philosophy. I am a fiscal conservative and I believe in minimum government control."

Like Thomas, moderate Republicans tend to be conservative on fiscal and economic policy but less rigid on the environment and on social issues such as abortion, gun control or civil rights. Those farther to the right would say that moderates abandon conservative values on social issues in order to appeal to a broader swath of the electorate — which right-wingers consider a betrayal — and which theyve used to motivate and better organize their more-fervent troops. As a result, they tend to out hustle and out perform moderates in competitive GOP primaries, both locally and statewide, even though moderates' crossover appeal to Democrats sometimes can produce the kind of general election victory that Arnold Schwarzenegger displayed in last October's recall.

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But even a political lion such as Schwarzenegger might have had difficulty winning a contested Republican primary, as former presidential advisor and Democratic political analyst Dick Morris observes. "If Schwarzenegger had faced a [Republican] primary challenge against [conservative state Senator Tom] McClintock," Morris says, "he would have failed the litmus test with conservatives and McClintock would have won the primary but would have either lost the election to [Democratic Lieutenant Governor Cruz] Bustamante or the recall would have failed."

The Thomas team

As Thomas sought to maintain control of Kern's GOP apparatus, he brought a number of young activists into his orbit. Two of those "protégés" were McCarthy and Ashburn. Says McCarthy: "I had been involved in Bakersfield politics since 1988, first as a college Republican at [CSU Bakersfield], and then in voter registration drives."

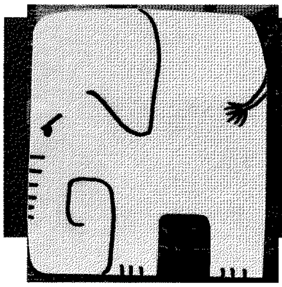
Ashburn, now a state senator and candidate for Congress, served as Thomas' field representative, where he was groomed for elected office. After successfully winning a seat on the Kern County Board of Supervisors in 1986, Ashburn turned his attention to the Legislature. He was elected to the Assembly in 1996 and to the state Senate in 2002. When he first ran, Ashburn had the support of the Thomas machine. Abernathy served as a campaign consultant, and many Thomas loyalists supported Ashburn's candidacy.

But the connection was soon severed, and the eventual feud may have had as much to do with Thomas' personality as with philosophical schisms between the center and right.

Although Ashburn would not comment, Abernathy says the rift opened in 1998, when Ashburn publicly admonished his ex-boss in the press. According to political consultant Stan Harper, who ran Don Rogers' legislative campaigns, Ashburn began to chafe under what he considered Thomas' long reach from Washington, D.C.

"Bill Thomas is a controlling person, and if you don't do what he tells you to do, he takes his power and goes home," says Harper. "Roy simply did what he had to do to represent his constituents."

Abernathy insists that Ashburn broke with Thomas because GOP leadership in Sacramento wasn't comfortable with Thomas. The Assembly leader at the time was Bill Leonard, now a member of the State Board of Equalization.



If GOP factionalism is mellowing in Kern County, perhaps it signals a statewide pattern.

Like Harper, Abernathy hints that the Assembly Republican Caucus wasn't comfortable with Thomas' influence over all things Republican in Kern County.

But Abernathy also blames outside influences. "There was a major donor group, of the right-wing variety from Orange County," he says, "that hinted they would support a primary opponent [against Ashburn] if Roy didn't do what he needed to do [to break away from Thomas]."

"It's just like children," Thomas says. "You try to create a supportive environment but, at some point, people for whatever reason go off and make their own decisions for their own reasons and motivations."

Whatever the motives, divisiveness within the local party grew as fast as GOP voter registration. A new political faction began to gain strength, one aligned with the more "conservative" Ashburn camp, which backed groups such as the Kern County Young Republican Federated and the Kern County Republican National Hispanic Assembly. The battles were fought in GOP primaries, where Ashburn supporters opposed most of the candidates backed by Thomas-led organizations such as the Kern County Young Republicans and the Bakersfield Congress of Republicans.

The most ferocious of those head-on collisions took place when the 2001 redistricting plan created a new 32nd state Assembly District. McCarthy, by then Thomas' district director, was opposed by Bakersfield City Councilmember Mike Maggard, a close friend to Ashburn. In a primary dominated by harsh accusations and political attack ads, it would have easy to mistake the race as between a Democrat and a Republican — with the moderate McCarthy painted as the Democrat. Although McCarthy won the primary and eventually the seat, bad blood generated by the primary did not go away.

Despite being caught in the middle of a contentious battle, McCarthy wouldn't comment directly on the split, except to say that "loyalty matters most in politics and that you should be loyal and trustworthy and keep your bond."

Meanwhile, Ashburn is running for the 20th Congressional District made open when Democrat Cal Dooley decided not to seek re-election to an eighth term. Ashburn is opposed by former Democratic state Senator Jim Costa in what promises to be the only significant congressional contest in California this fall.

The chance for California Republicans to gain a congressional seat has caused something resembling a thaw in Kern County Republican wars. At a fund-raising event last winter that featured House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas), Ashburn extended an olive branch to Thomas saying, "I look forward to working with Bill in D.C."

For his part, Thomas hasn't commented directly on Ashburn's overture, saying that it is not his place to judge and that the opinions of one's peers — in Ashburn's case, members of Legislature — should be of more concern to Ashburn than the opinion of Bill Thomas.

Was the olive branch a real effort to heal the moderate-conservative rift, or merely election rhetoric? The answer may be important because, despite the sometimes tumultuous terrain that is Bakersfield politics, it remains solid Republican turf — emblematic of both the party's appeal and its warts.

"The Kern County Republican Party is a microcosm within the state," McCarthy says. "Look at the rich history we have here in terms of politics. We have passionate people here and a central committee that engages people, that gets involved and can branch out and expand throughout our state. We have results."

If GOP factionalism is mellowing in Kern County, perhaps it signals a statewide pattern. Since the recall of Governor Gray Davis, California's once-thought-dead Republican Party has shown flickers of life as it clings to its action hero-turned-politician governor. Thanks to Arnold Schwarzenegger's blend of charisma and moderate politics, it may just be that the Republican Party's tilt to the far right — away from the majority of California voters — has gained an infusion of pragmatism that has brought it toward the center and viability at the polls.

Either way, it might be wise to keep an eye on Bakersfield to see if mending the rift is real — or rhetorical.

Kurt Bardella is a political TV reporter for 29 Eyewitness News in Bakersfield. Send comments to **comments@californiajournal.org**

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California Journal's

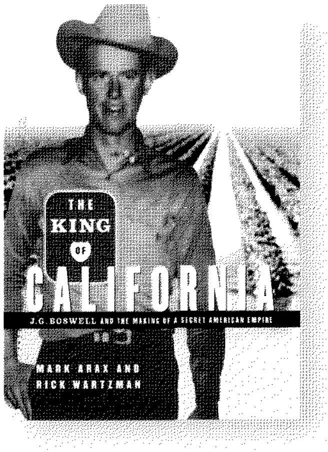
Summer Reading List

Headed for a last dash of summer sun 'n fun but not sure what to pack in your reading satchel? Whether you're homebound or headed for a vacation destination, August is ideal for indulging in a good read. For your enjoyment, we offer *California Journal's* suggested summer reading list, an eclectic collection of books with a uniquely California connection. Recommended by *CJ* staff and editors, they encompass art, history, biography, sports and, of course, politics. From grizzlies to governors, pollsters to presidents, we've got something to tempt every reading palate. *Bon appetit!*

"The King of California: *J.G. Boswell and the Making of a Secret American Empire*"

By Mark Arax and Rick Wartzman

Public Affairs, 2003

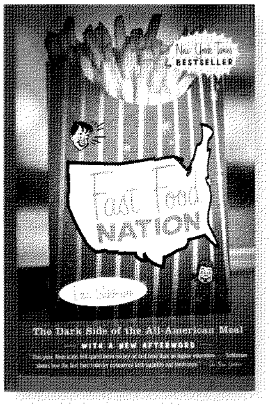

THE KING OF CALIFORNIA
J.G. BOSWELL AND THE MAKING OF A SECRET AMERICAN EMPIRE
MARK ARAX AND RICK WARTZMAN

Journalists Arax and Wartzman — both work for the *Los Angeles Times* — have crafted a detailed, exhaustively researched but highly readable take on J. G. Boswell II, the up-from-the-roots cotton czar who, expanding the company founded by his uncle 83 years ago, built a 200,000-acre agribusiness dynasty in California's fertile San Joaquin Valley. It's a tale of Boswell's ferocious struggle for the water of Tulare Lake, and the political and commercial power that flowed with it. It's also a tale of Boswell's political acumen and the no-holds-barred competitive business instincts that have made him the world's cotton leader and enabled his company to spread into Oregon, Arizona, Colorado and Australia. Boswell, long known in the Valley, has now been introduced to the rest of us, thanks to Arax and Wartzman.

"Fast Food Nation: *The Dark Side of the All-American Meal*"

By Eric Schlosser

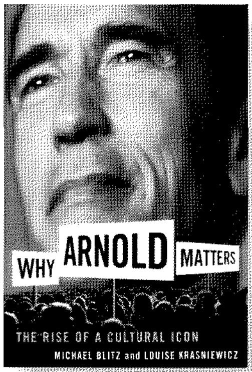
HarperCollins, 2002


New York Times BESTSELLER
Fast Food NATION
Eric Schlosser
The Dark Side of the All-American Meal
WITH A NEW AFTERWORD

You could call it the Perfect Storm of American culture: the same week in 1956 that Carl Karcher opened his first "Carl's Jr." fast-food joint in Anaheim was the same year that the first U.S. shopping mall was born and Congress passed the federal Highway Act, creating a coast-to-coast opportunity for drive-through meals on the go. Actually, Karcher's hamburger drive-in was patterned after his rival over in San Bernardino: a 15-cent burger place called McDonald's. Since then, fast-food is everywhere, covering the country like ketchup on fries. Schlosser, a contributor to *Rolling Stone* and *The Atlantic Monthly*, looks at slaughterhouses, teenage workers, globalization — and warns that it's not too late to abandon our fast-food addiction. With wit and a muckraker's zeal, Schlosser bites into fast-food's impact on obesity, education and America's social life. From its starting point in Southern California, Schlosser takes the reader on a ride-along through America's fascination with fast-food. Pass the fries and dig in.

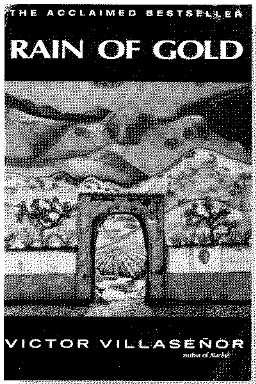
"Why Arnold Matters: *The Rise of a Cultural Icon*"
By Michael Blitz and Louise Krasniewicz
Basic Books, 2004

Arnold has everyone talking — and writing — about his larger-than-life persona as California governor. One of the most recent books on this Hollywood celebrity-turned-governor is by two out-of-state authors who put a national spin on Schwarzenegger's appeal. From their vantage point — Michael Blitz is an English professor at City University in New York and Louise Krasniewich is a School of American Research researcher in New Mexico — Schwarzenegger has evolved into an American metaphor for all things large and powerful and has redefined the American dream. However history judges Schwarzenegger's role as governor, there is little doubt that the Hollywood star-turned-politico is imbedded in nearly every aspect of American culture.


WHY ARNOLD MATTERS
THE RISE OF A CULTURAL ICON
MICHAEL BLITZ and LOUISE KRASNIEWICZ

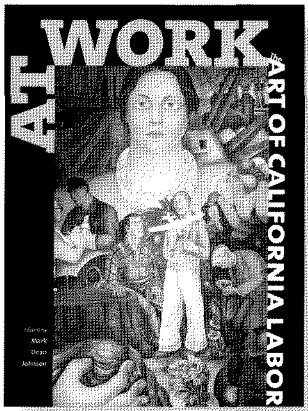
"Rain of Gold"
By Victor Villasenor
Dell Publishing, 1991

It's been called a Latino "Roots." The best-seller has worked its way into the hearts of readers — and the reading lists of high schools and colleges since it was first published in 1991. Part memoir, part fictional saga, it's a family story that straddles both sides of the Mexico-California border. From a small village in Mexico, generations of Villasenor's family made their way past revolutionaries and bandits to reach California's land of gold via migrant camps, bootlegging ventures and eventually a ranch in Oceanside. It's an action-packed tale of struggle, romance and, ultimately, the California dream.



"At Work: *The Art of California Labor*"
Edited by Mark Dean Johnson
Heyday Books, 2003

From Dorthea Lange's black-and-white photos of World War II shipyard workers to Diego Rivera's colorful mural of 1930s laborers, this art-as-history book depicts the struggles — and dignity — of working Californians, as captured by the artists of their era. Spanning turn-of-the century to today, more than 100 paintings, prints, photographs, posters, murals and woodcuts are accompanied by text that is testament to labor's long and often turbulent history in California. The book, a unique collaboration between San Francisco State University, the California Historical Society Press and the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, captures that history in a way that only artists can make memorable.



"Bear in Mind: *The California Grizzly*"
Edited by Susan Snyder
Heyday Books, 2003

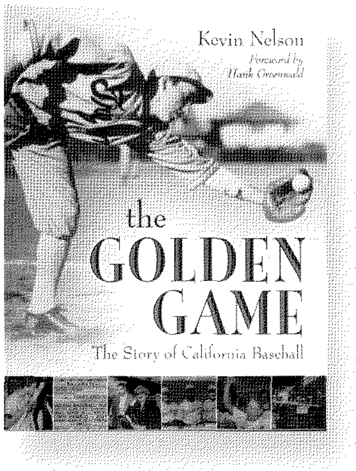
The grizzly bear is long gone, hunted down and driven to extinction by the 1920s, a victim of a young state's quest to tame and civilize. But in the pages of this richly illustrated coffee-table book, the grizzly lives on. "Bear in Mind" is filled with personal accounts of encounters with grizzlies by dozens of California settlers, everyone from a Donner Party survivor — who ate one — to naturalist John Muir — who had a brief stare-down with a grizzly on a trail. More than just a book of bear stories, it's also a peek inside the archives of UC Berkeley's Bancroft Library, home to the book's 150 images, including illustrations from Gold Rush-era newspapers, vintage fruit-crate labels, Wild West magazines and current popular art. Winner of a "Book of the Year" citation from *Foreward* Magazine, "Bear in Mind" is a dazzling book designed to ensure that while grizzlies may be gone, they're not forgotten.

THE CALIFORNIA GRIZZLY
bear in mind
FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY
Edited by Susan Snyder

"The Golden Game: *The Story of California Baseball*"
By Kevin Nelson
Heyday Books, 2004

The first major league baseball game involving a California-based team didn't occur until 1958. But baseball was intimately connected with California long before the Dodgers and Giants moved to Los Angeles and San Francisco. Baseball came west with the Gold Rush, and over the next 150-plus years, California had an enormous impact on the national pastime. Kevin Nelson recounts that history, detailing the leagues, teams and personalities that helped shape baseball both in California and across the nation. From players such as Joe Dimaggio, Ted Williams, Jackie Robinson, Curt Flood, Casey Stengel and Billy Martin to owners such as Gene Autry, Walter O'Malley, Ray Kroc and

Charley Finley to the heartbreaking irony of baseball played in Japanese internment camps, Nelson explores the state's impact on baseball. The author even ventures beyond the diamond to note that baseball's most widely known slice of literary lore was written in California: "Casey at the Bat."

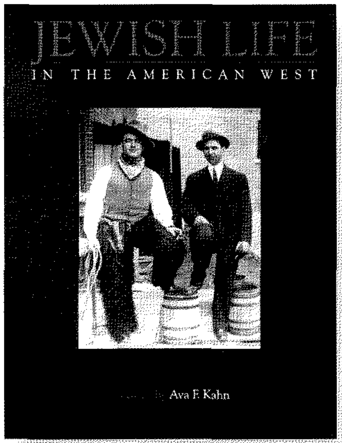


"Jewish Life in the American West"

Edited by Ava F. Kahn

Autry Museum of Western Heritage/Heyday Books, 2002

When one thinks of cowboys, settlers and pioneers, one thinks of rugged individuals braving the perils of a still-untamed continent. When one thinks of Jewish immigrants, one thinks of overcrowded tenements in New York City. But Ava Kahn has put together a chronicle of a different and little seen aspect of Jewish life in the United States, what the *Los Angeles Times* calls "an overlooked chapter in the history of the American frontier." Side by side are the stories of Levi Strauss, who founded a clothing empire, and Leah Landman, who spent 17 years as a farm wife on the Wyoming prairie. Well illustrated with photos, this book celebrates the Jews who helped settle the West, men and women such as Solomon Bibo, a Prussian emigrant who took as his bride an Acoma Pueblo woman and later became chief of her tribe, and Adolph Frankel, a gun-toting cowboy who hung out around Cushing, Oklahoma.

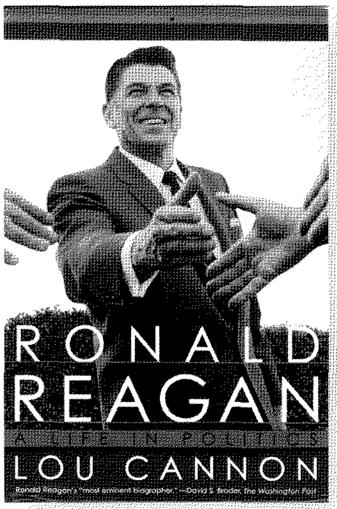


"Governor Reagan: *His Rise to Power*"
"President Reagan: *The Role of a Lifetime*"

By Lou Cannon

PublicAffairs, 2004

Journalist Lou Cannon, a *California Journal* contributing editor and president of the California Journal Foundation, is the definitive biographer of Ronald Reagan. Over the years, Cannon has written five books about the former California governor and president, two of which were recently released in a boxed set in paperback. They trace in detail the breadth of Reagan's unique political career. "President Reagan," first issued in 1991 and revised in 2000, recounts his years in the White House, which Cannon covered for *The Washington Post.* "Governor Reagan," released in 2003, is the most complete account of Reagan's tenure as California's chief executive, which Cannon also covered as a reporter for the *San Jose Mercury.* Both books contain insights gleaned from countless interviews with those who worked closely with Reagan in Washington and especially in Sacramento, where the future president honed the skills that would suit him well on the international stage.

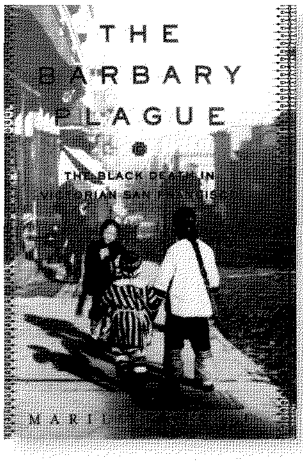

RONALD REAGAN
A LIFE IN POLITICS
LOU CANNON
Ronald Reagan's "most eminent biographer." —David S. Broder, The Washington Post

"The Barbary Plague: *The Black Death in Victorian San Francisco*"

By Marilyn Chase

Random House, 2003

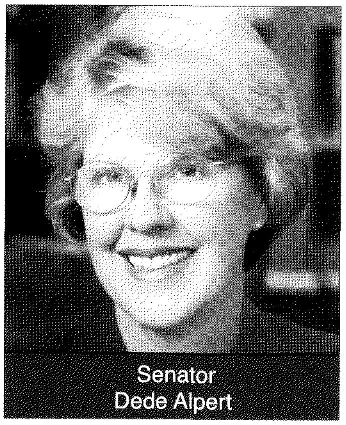
Mystery, horror, politics and an enthralling glimpse of life a century ago in San Francisco – it's all intertwined in this remarkable tale of medieval pestilence that doomed scores to excruciating deaths. From that moment in 1900 when bubonic plague-infested rats sneaked into San Francisco from the ship *Australia* until 1908, when The City finally was declared plague free, San Francisco was caught in the grip of a medical emergency. There were 172 officially reported deaths, but the real figure likely was far, far higher. The first victims were residents in Chinatown, which was cordoned off amid demands from some local dignitaries that the entire community be razed. But the plague spread, as local and state officials, backed by astonishingly flawed newspaper reporting, downplayed the plague's importance. In the end, it was federal health officer Rupert Blue, a pugnacious amateur boxer who went on to become U.S. Surgeon General, who cleaned up the town. Of note: An estimated 2 million rats were killed — five times the city's population.



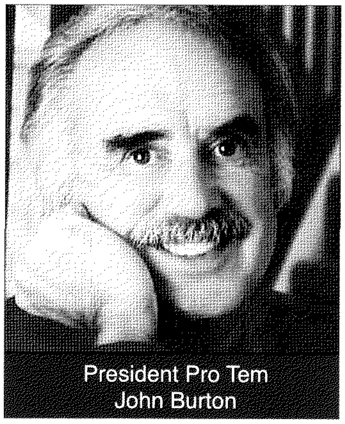
Editor's Note: Heyday Books are available from independent booksellers or online at www.heydaybooks.com

LEADERSHIP AWARD
The California Wellness Foundation

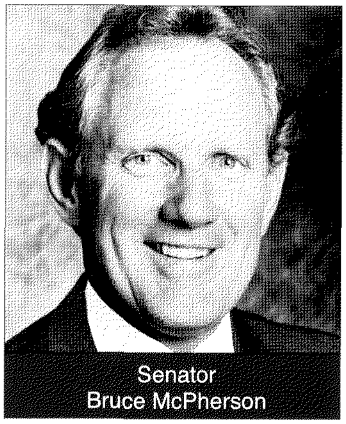
The California Wellness Foundation Inaugural Public Policy Leadership Award


Senator
Dede Alpert

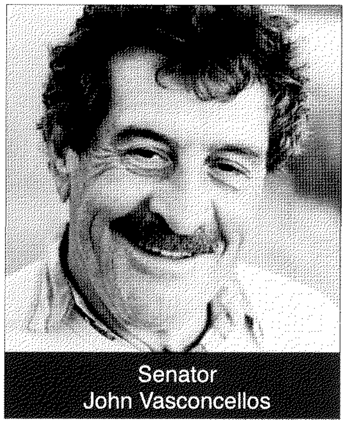
39th Senate District
San Diego County


President Pro Tem
John Burton

3rd Senate District
San Francisco, Marin and
S. Sonoma Counties


Senator
Bruce McPherson

15th Senate District
Santa Cruz, Monterey and
San Luis Obispo Counties


Senator
John Vasconcellos

13th Senate District
Santa Clara County

Champions of Public Policies that Improve Californians' Health

The California Wellness Foundation is proud to recognize its inaugural Public Policy Leadership Award honorees: Dede Alpert, John Burton, Bruce McPherson and John Vasconcellos. Each of these departing legislators has made significant contributions to the advancement of public policies that promote the health of Californians.

These honorees have influenced millions of lives through their efforts to create laws that have increased access and funding for health care, mental health and substance abuse prevention services, promoted the availability of affordable health insurance, and prevented injury and death caused by violence — especially among youth.

The California Wellness Foundation recognizes and thanks these legislators for their commitment to improving the health of Californians and for their extraordinary leadership in the public policy arena. To learn more about their work and the Foundation, please visit **www.tcwf.org**.

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IWQ304

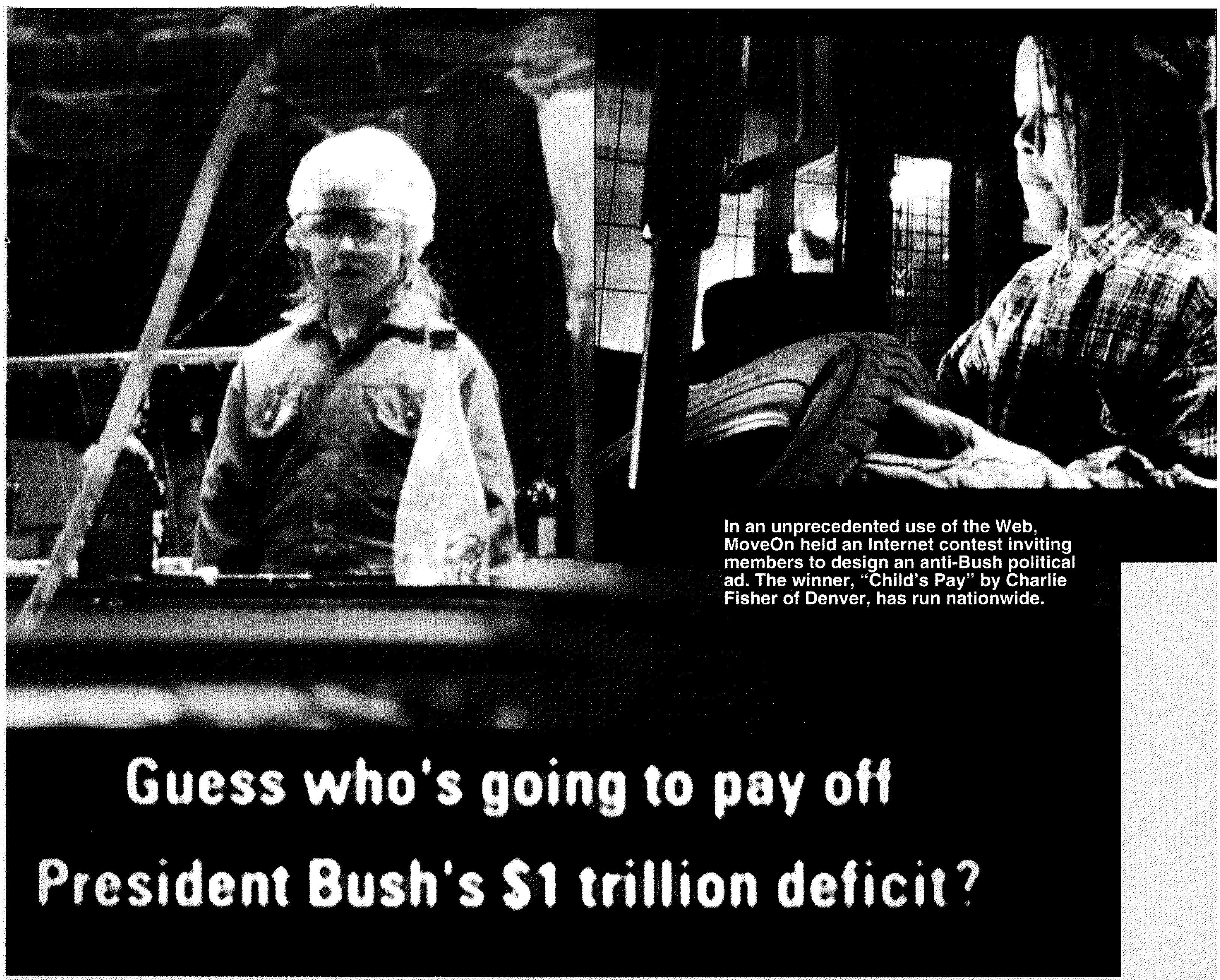
Movin' on

It started on a computer screen in Berkeley. Today, MoveOn has become a nationwide movement, rallying millions of liberal political activists via the Internet.

By Pamela Burdman

The last weekend in June was an emblematic episode in the life of MoveOn. The advocacy group had decided to put its muscle behind filmmaker Michael Moore's "Fahrenheit 9/11," after the movie was attacked by right-wing groups for its anti-Bush message. A single email from MoveOn organizers the previous week had prompted more than 100,000 members to pledge to see the controversial film on opening night.

But as animated audiences lined up at sold-out screens around the country to see the MoveOn-endorsed movie, TV news programs in some areas were giving equal time to a different take on the liberal-minded organization: a George W. Bush-Dick Cheney ad dubbed "Coalition of the Wild-Eyed." The attack ad against presidential condidate John Kerry strung together angry outbursts from former vice president Al Gore, one-time Democratic presidential hopeful Howard Dean and


Guess who's going to pay off
President Bush's $1 trillion deficit?

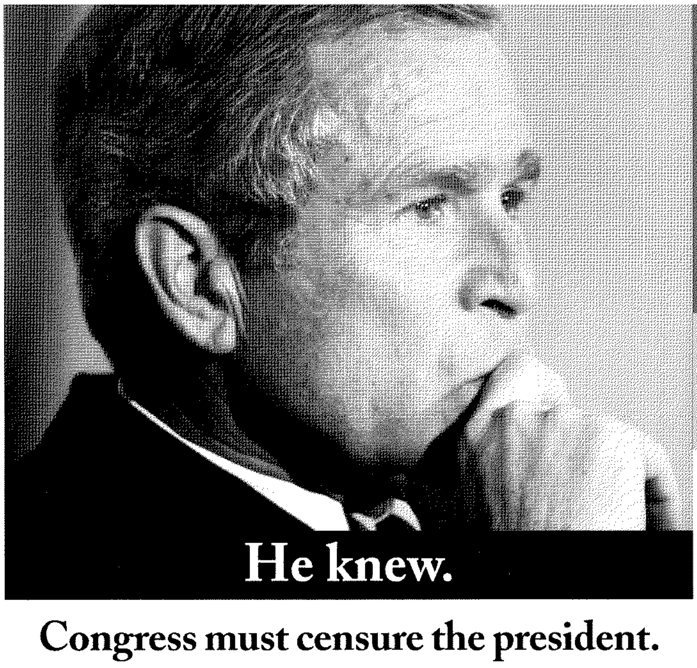
In an unprecedented use of the Web, MoveOn held an Internet contest inviting members to design an anti-Bush political ad. The winner, "Child's Pay" by Charlie Fisher of Denver, has run nationwide.

Moore himself, along with images of Adolf Hitler attributed to MoveOn.

The Hitler reference was obscure. In January, when MoveOn held a "Bush in 30 Seconds" contest to design a political ad, two of the 1,500 entries submitted to the group's Web site likened President Bush to the Nazi leader. Though the spots were removed from the site within days and MoveOn founder Wes Boyd dismissed them as in "poor taste," the Bush ad tagged the images as the product of MoveOn. A convoluted message, to be sure, but one seemed clearly calculated to detract from the anti-Bush message playing inside theatres with the group's blessing.

MoveOn's starring role in both the attack ad and in the "Fahrenheit" phenomenon underscores not just its ability to rattle Republicans and to rally progressives. It demonstrates the power of the new brand of political activism that the Berkeley-born group has unleashed, a power measured both in dollars and in voices. Through its fundraising — a 501c4, a political action committee and a voter fund — MoveOn has raised $28 million in the last year. And the very weekend the film made its debut, the group's U.S. membership surpassed 2.25 million, with its ranks in California numbering around 400,000, according to MoveOn organizers.

MoveOn brings together grassroots political activism with high-profile media campaigns and celebrity events that enable participants to connect to something larger. *"The power of a network increases exponentially with*


He knew.
Congress must censure the president.

Graphic from a MoveOn ad that recently appeared in *The Washington Post*

> **"MoveOn is not the enemy, but they're taking an approach that is wrong."**
>
> **— Howard Kaloogian, MoveAmericaForward**

every additional node," said Jonah Seiger, a Washington, D.C., political consultant who specializes in interactive media campaigns. "MoveOn has established itself as the premiere example of this."

Even its Republican detractors are somewhat daunted by MoveOn's sheer numbers. "They're a very well-funded front group for liberal causes," said former state GOP Assemblyman Howard Kaloogian, founder of MoveAmericaForward, a conservative Web-based group that actively denounced the "Fahrenheit 9/11" film. "They've got millions and we're lucky to get $50 contributions."

MoveAmericaForward, launched to rally support for U.S. soldiers in the wake of prisoner beheadings and prison scandals in Iraq, was MoveOn's Internet and media rival in the public debate over Moore's film, urging moviegoers to boycott the film and to lobby theatre owners against running it.

Although the film broke box-office records in its opening weekend, Kaloogian said he considered it a victory that Moore later conceded in a national TV interview that his film was not "fair and balanced" journalism but "my opinion of the last four years of the Bush administration... It's an op-ed piece."

"MoveOn is not the enemy," said Kaloogian, "but they're taking an approach that is wrong. They and Michael Moore are using the troops to pursue a personal political agenda, which is to elect John Kerry."

Hitting a nerve

MoveOn was born six years ago on the computer screens of two Berkeley software entrepreneurs, Boyd and his wife Joan Blades. The couple's initial email, sent to about 100 friends and family members during the 1998 impeachment hearings of President Bill Clinton, was a petition asking Congress to "censure" Clinton and "move on." They collected 100,000 signers a week later and half a million within a few months.

It helped that the pair knew how to use the Web — their Internet petition was a technological cut above the online appeals of the day. But software savvy only partly explains the duo's transformation from founders of the famous "flying toasters" screensavers into accidental activists. The real explanation is that their email hit a nerve, according to Douglas Rushkoff, New York University professor of communications.

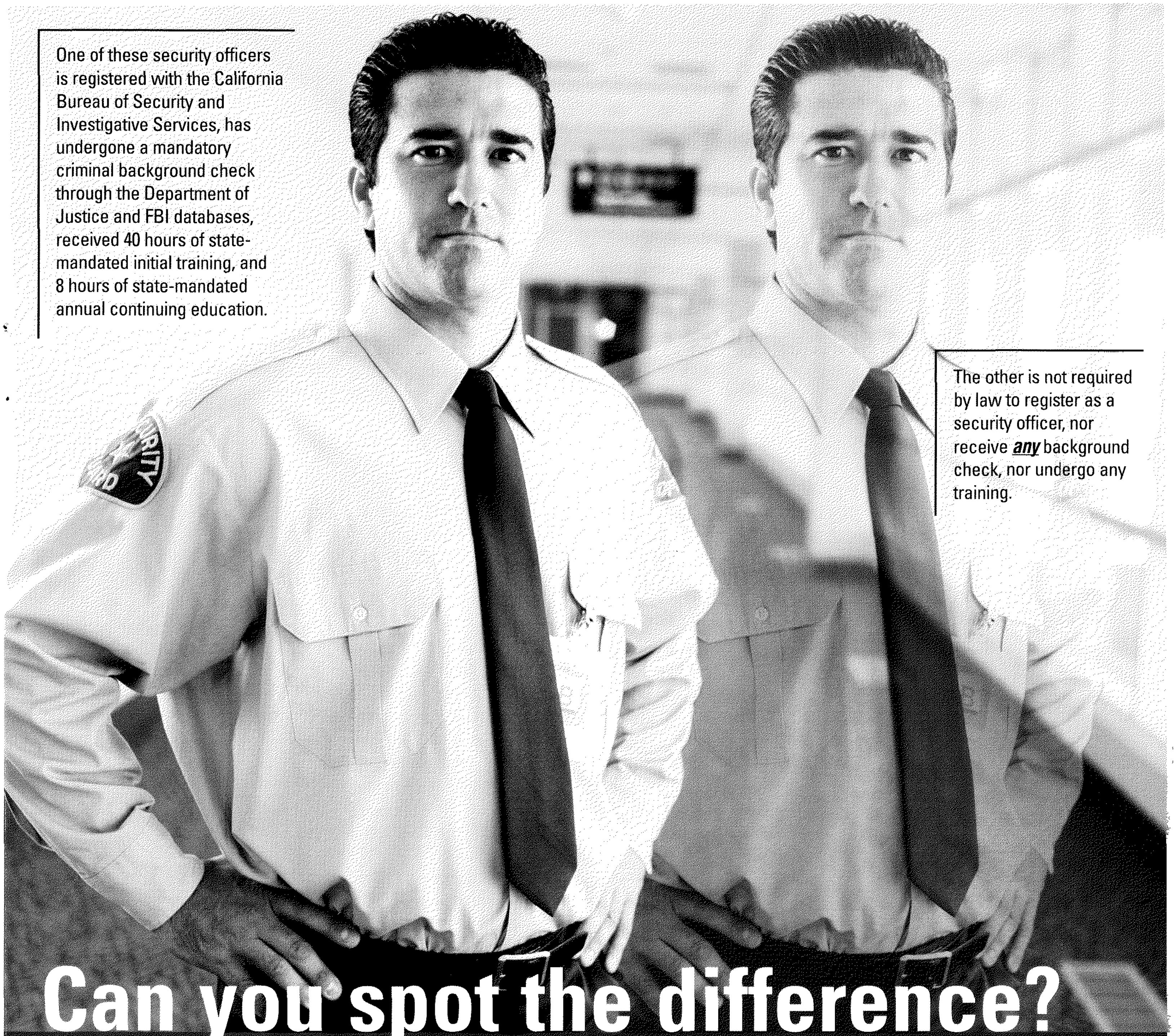
"The reason it replicated is not because they're so brilliant, but because it struck a chord with a whole lot of Americans," said Rushkoff, author of several books on media activism. "A great viral idea won't spread unless there's already a cultural space for it. They named it and it spread. They made politics cool because the Internet is cool."

They also caught the wave of the Internet, which has gone from zero to 60 percent penetration in American homes and workplaces in the last 10 years, according to Seiger.

The volume of signatures for that first online petition exceed the couple's wildest expectations. "We had anticipated getting back to working on educational software," Blades recalled recently. "It was mind-blowing to have the response we got. All the people who had gotten together wanted to continue to stay active and engaged. It felt irresponsible to walk away."

Like the original petition, many of MoveOn's positions sound more moderate than the "wild-eyed" image assigned to the group. "Let the Inspections Work" was the rallying cry in the months before the Iraq invasion as the group attracted hundreds of thousands to its anti-war message. But their voice often pushes the envelope beyond the comfort zone of mainstream Democratic organizations. Examples include recent campaigns to fire Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and censure President Bush, along with the Web site's Bush-bashing "Daily Mislead."

Though anti-Bush messages have taken center stage, the group's advocacy also touches issues such as campaign finance reform, the California recall race, and pollution from power plants. Last month, it asked that the Federal Trade Commission stop Fox News from using its "fair and balanced" slogan, charging it's misleading. MoveOn's Internet mock primary helped advance the candidacy of Howard Dean and attracted the interest of Gore, who's



One of these security officers is registered with the California Bureau of Security and Investigative Services, has undergone a mandatory criminal background check through the Department of Justice and FBI databases, received 40 hours of state-mandated initial training, and 8 hours of state-mandated annual continuing education.

The other is not required by law to register as a security officer, nor receive ***any*** background check, nor undergo any training.

Can you spot the difference?

And more importantly, could your child tell the difference if she was lost?

In the wake of September 11, 2001, new California laws have made our private security officers the most thoroughly trained and background-checked in the nation.

But there's a huge loophole in these laws…they only apply to contract private security officers. Proprietary, "in-house" officers employed directly by the facility at which they work are not required by law to register with the state, undergo any background check, or receive any training.

Assembly Bill 2507, by Assemblyman Abel Maldonado, would close this loophole, requiring all security officers in California to undergo the same high standards for registration, training, and criminal background checks. This bill is now before the Legislature, and may soon head to the Governor's desk.

Help make California safer, and make sure you and your family won't have to play "Spot the Difference." Call Governor Schwarzenegger (916-445-2841) and your legislators and urge them to pass AB 2507!

For more information about AB 2507 and about private security, contact the California Association of Licensed Security Agencies, Guards and Associates:

CALSAGA
915 L Street, #C251
Sacramento, CA 95814
(866) 310-2551
info@calsaga.org

CALSAGA

> **“Right now they’re in the sweet spot. They’ve got the best of both worlds. They’ve got enough money and enough media savvy to create terrific messaging for mass market media watchers ...”**
> **— Douglas Rushkoff, NYU professor**

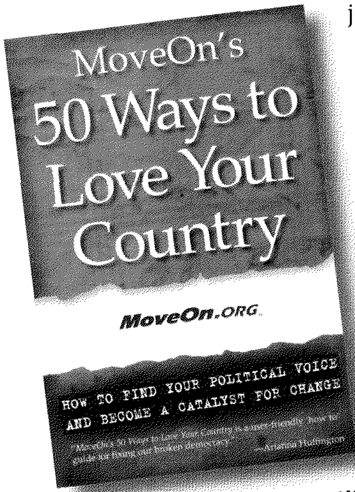
twice been a keynote speaker at MoveOn events.

Despite its role as a major media presence that spent $23 million last year on advertising and public relations, Blades stresses that MoveOn’s agenda still arises from discussions with members. The permanent staff of eight work from their homes around the country, reading the thousands of emails they receive each week. On the Web site’s action forum, individuals can promote issues that others rate in importance.

“It’s a very democratic process,” said Blades. “We say, ‘MoveOn members, here’s an opportunity, this ad asking to fire Rumsfeld, do you want to do it?’ What’s exciting about the Internet isan opportunity to have a two-way dialogue. If we’re going to do a good job, we have to listen well.”

Pioneering that approach to democracy trumps the outcome on any particular issue, said Blades. Indeed, from its initial “censure and move on” petition, few of the group’s causes have actually prevailed.

“The greatest accomplishment is that you can now see all sorts of organizations and candidates having more interactive relationships with supporters,” said Blades. “It’s wonderful that we’re 2.25 million [members], but it’s even more wonderful that Kerry has an online group of supporters of over a million and that NRDC [National Resources Defense Council] has over 600,000 and Planned Parenthood has over 400,000 and the AFL-CIO has over 1.7 million online activists engaged.”


MoveOn’s
50 Ways to Love Your Country
MoveOn.ORG
HOW TO FIND YOUR POLITICAL VOICE AND BECOME A CATALYST FOR CHANGE
“MoveOn’s 50 Ways to Love Your Country is a user-friendly how-to guide for fixing our broken democracy.” —Arianna Huffington

MoveOn.org’s 2004 manual

“In the sweet spot”

That energy has brought new cachet to the old-fashioned grassroots organizing techniques—registering voters, writing letters to the editor, going to rallies and circulating petitions—that comprise the bulk of entries in MoveOn’s best-selling book “50 Ways to Love Your Country.” Like other MoveOn endeavors, the book grew out of an email asking activists to share their personal stories.

“Right now they’re in the sweet spot,” said Rushkoff. “They’ve got the best of both worlds. They’ve got enough money and enough media savvy to create terrific messaging for mass market media watchers and enough facility and reputation on the Internet to organize thousands if not millions of people and troll for the issues that people want to see addressed. The Internet becomes the metaphor for the kind of democracy they’d like to see.”

The group’s faith in its membership can occasionally come back to bite them, as in the case of the Hitler ad. While saying they will make sure to screen ads next time, Blades shrugs off the misstep as routine de-bugging. “We recognize that we’re a target. The fact is, mistakes are made if you’re innovating. That’s part of the learning process,” she said.

But even the Hitler blunder was part of an online ad contest that Seiger says demonstrated nothing less than “inspired brilliance”—rather than pay an advertising agency millions of dollars to design ads and organize focus groups, MoveOn relied on its members’ creativity and discernment. The winning contender, “Child’s Pay,” depicted kids toiling as dishwashers, janitors, trash haulers, and factory workers, followed by the tagline, “Guess who’s going to pay off President Bush’s $1 trillion deficit?”

CBS refused to show the spot during the Super Bowl — a move that brought intense media coverage and sent more Internet users to the MoveOn site to check out the ads. MoveOn moved on to CNN — airing the piece 13 times the day of Bush’s State of the Union address and once again on Super Bowl Sunday, in a slot chosen to coincide with halftime.

The “Fahrenheit 9/11” opening was another chance to see MoveOn in action as part of a major media story and a grassroots movement. To realtor Julien Camp, lined up outside Santa Rosa’s Rialto Cinema 45 minutes early for the 7:30 p.m. show, action meant bringing nine friends to the film, fulfilling a pledge he’d made on www.moveon.org. The following Monday, he and partner Howard Besserman hosted a house party, one of 4,600 such gatherings around the country.

By Internet and speaker phone, some 55,000 supporters convened in a virtual town hall meeting featuring Moore. The filmmaker reflected on the movie’s box-office successes and thanked MoveOn supporters for helping it succeed. Then participants got down to business: planning bring-your-own-cell-phone parties to register voters in battleground states like Ohio and Oregon and brainstorming ways to raise more money for MoveOn.

For activists like Camp, MoveOn is an awakening. “There’s a momentum that’s started that can’t be stopped.”

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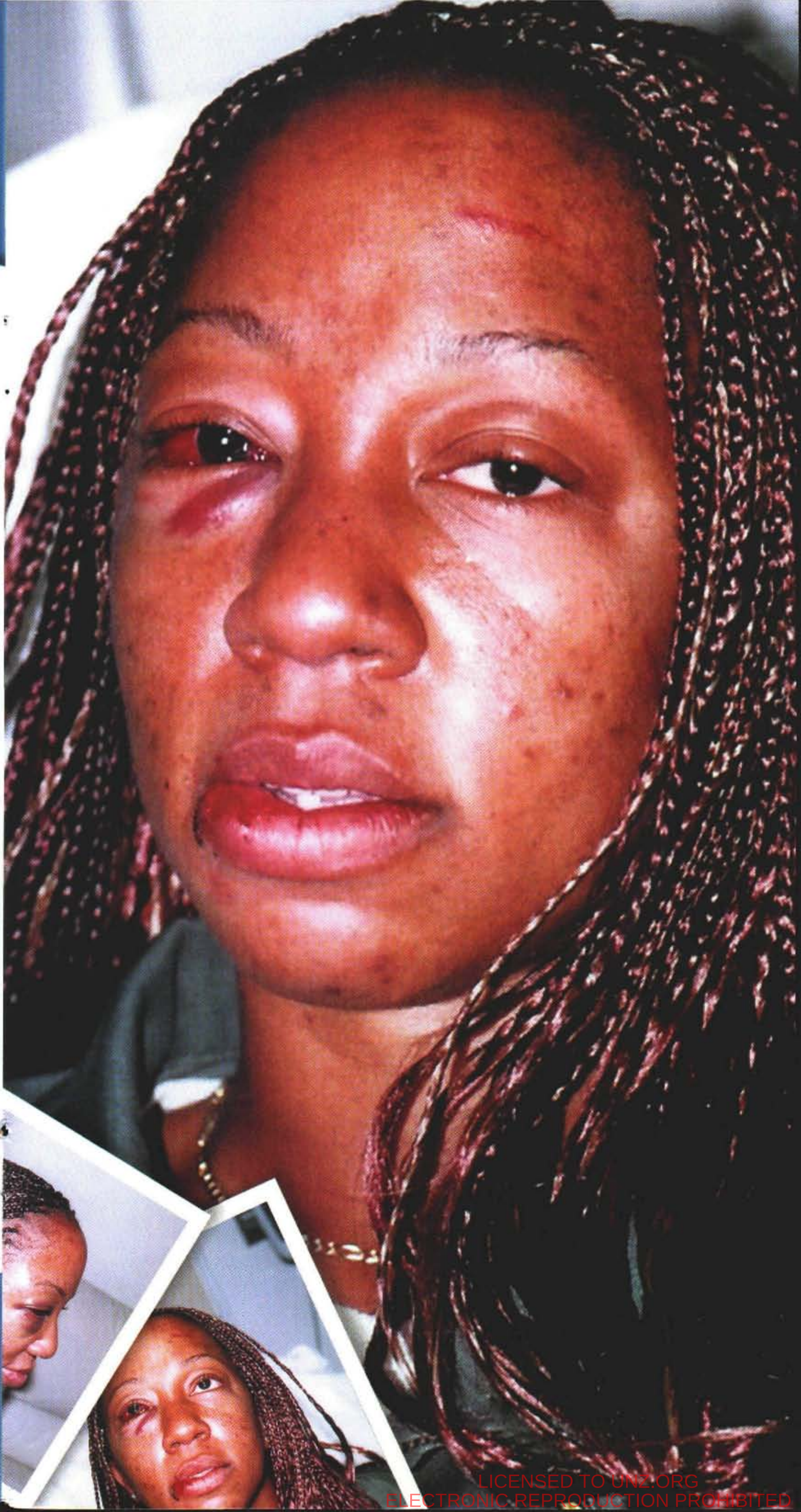

“What happened next was all a blur.”

Correctional Officer Nicole Hawthorne and her partner were escorting inmates to morning meal at California State Prison, Los Angeles County.

Without warning, one of the inmates attacked her partner. When Officer Hawthorne went to his rescue, she was attacked by another inmate.

“What happened next was all a blur,” she said.

The inmate struck her repeatedly, beating her unconscious.

It was more than a year before she could return to duty. Two years later, she still suffers frequent headaches and severe back pain.

On average, nine officers are assaulted inside California prisons every day.

For them, a bad day at work can be a real killer.

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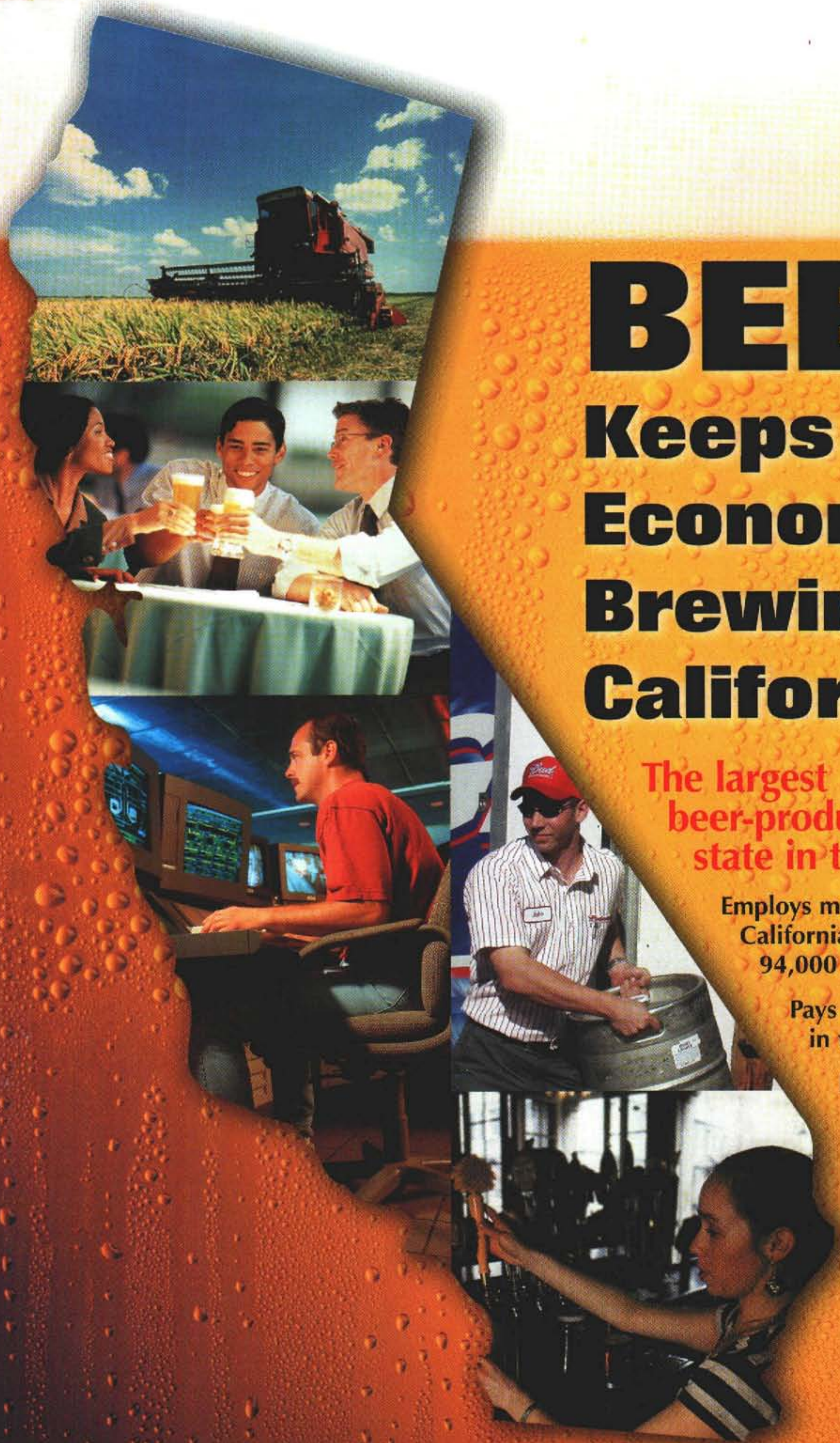

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From a study by John Dunham & Associates, commissioned by the Beer Institute